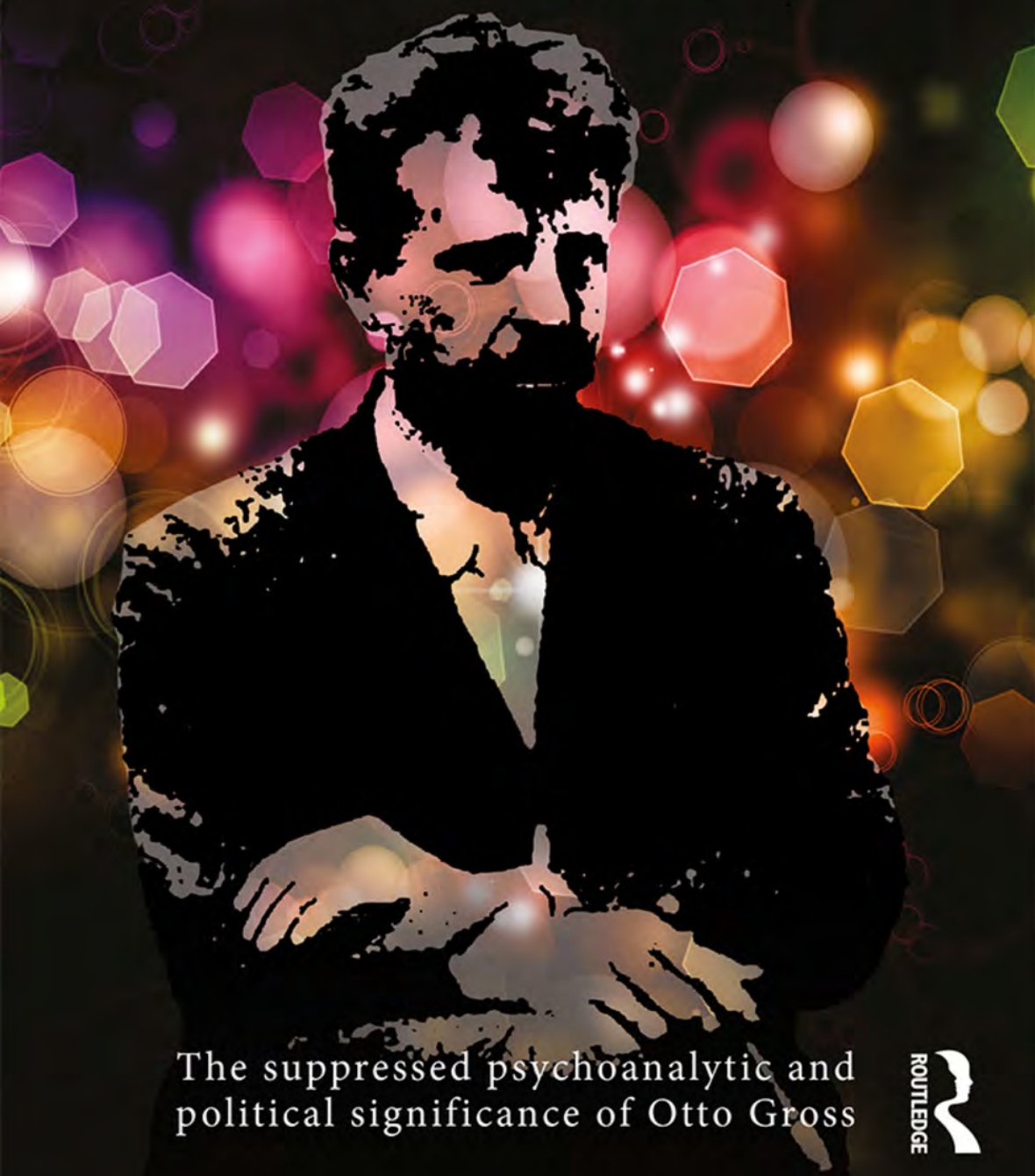
GOTTFRIED M. HEUER

FREUD'S 'OUTSTANDING' COLLEAGUE / JUNG'S 'TWIN BROTHER'



The suppressed psychoanalytic and political significance of Otto Gross

ROUTLEDGE

'This is the first major study of Otto Gross for decades, and it is more: a reflection, sometimes a meditation, on the *significance* for psychoanalysis and politics of Gross, then as now. Gottfried Heuer's study is, in the best sense of the term, an expression of intellectual passion: as well as being a work of notable scholarship, it bears eloquent witness to the enduring resonance of the enigmatic figure that is Otto Gross.' - *Paul Bishop, William Jacks Chair of Modern Languages, University of Glasgow*

'Like a compassionate surgeon, Heuer attends to the wounds created by the misrepresentation of Otto Gross's biography. The result is an original and engaging medicinal history whose gifts are numerous. Reading this book is a transformative experience. There is tremendous value here for depth psychologists and historians alike.' - *Dr Ruth Meyer, author of* Clio's Circle: Entering the Imaginal World of Historians

'Not only does this superbly articulate book remedy the serious neglect of Otto Gross by revealing his work as vital to our twenty-first century understanding of the individual's imbrication in political collectives, but *Freud's 'Outstanding' Colleague/ Jung's 'Twin Brother'* also provides a new research methodology, a *trans-historical* approach that is both intersubjective and inter-relational. This book does so much more than mend the gap in existing psycho-historical research. It revisions what we need history for, and how we can write it, so as to be part of a transformational twenty-first century.' - *Susan Rowland, Chair of MA Engaged Humanities, Pacifica Graduate Institute, and author of* Jung as a Writer *and* The Ecocritical Psyche

'Gottfried Heuer has emerged as the world authority on Otto Gross. His book is scholarly, dynamic and thought-provoking. How many scholars, never mind analysts, knew of the high regard in which Freud and Jung once held Gross? How many recognise that phrases like "the personal is political" and "the sexual revolution" have explicit or implicit roots in Gross's writings?' - *Andrew Samuels, University of Essex*

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Otto Gross was the first analyst to link his work with radical politics, connecting inner, personal transformation with outer, collective change. Since his death in 1920 his work has been suppressed, despite his seminal influence on the developing analytic discipline and on the fields of sociology, philosophy and literature. Here Gottfried M. Heuer introduces Gross's life and ideas, using an innovative, historiographic methodology he terms 'trans-historical': a psychoanalytic, intersubjective and trans-temporal approach to the past, aimed at 'healing wounded history' in the present.

Heuer considers several previously unpublished sources to explore Gross's ideas and legacy as well as his unusually bohemian life. His use of the anarchist concept of mutuality to develop a relational and intersubjective approach in his own analytic theory and clinical practice was unique, and his work had a lasting, yet unacknowledged, influence on Freud, Jung (with whom he had the first recorded mutual analysis) and many other analysts. His ideas were appropriated by Max Weber, the founder of sociology, and by the philosopher Martin Buber, playing a pivotal role in what we now call 'modernity'. Heuer also explores Gross's paradigmatic father–son battle with his father Hans, who established the science of criminology, and touches upon Gross's links to the literary field of the early twentieth century via Kafka, Werfel and others, as well as German expressionism, Dadaism, and Anglo-American literature through the work of D.H. Lawrence.

This innovative, multi-faceted approach to Gross's work and its influence marks a turning point, putting him firmly on the map of the historiography of analysis as well as linking this field with the neighbouring disciplines of the history of law and criminology, literature, sociology and philosophy. In addition, Gross's continuing relevance for leading-edge clinical and political ideas is addressed. This book will be essential reading for Jungian and Freudian analysts, psychotherapists and counsellors, academics and students of analysis, politics, history, criminology and sociology.

Dr. Gottfried M. Heuer is a Jungian training-analyst and -supervisor, neo-Reichian body psychotherapist and independent scholar based in London, with some 70 papers published in the major analytic journals. He is co-founder of the International Otto Gross Society as well as a published graphic artist, photographer, sculptor and poet. His previous books include *Sacral Revolutions. Reflecting on the Work of Andrew Samuels* and *Sexual Revolutions: Psychoanalysis, History and the Father* (both Routledge).

FIGURE 1 Otto Gross, ca. 1915, second from left © Otto Gross Archive/Gottfried M. Heuer, London.

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The suppressed psychoanalytic and political significance of Otto Gross

Gottfried M. Heuer

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In gratitude for Birgit, beautiful inspiratrice,
love of my life – always & forever.

The psychology of the unconscious is the philosophy of the revolution.

Otto Gross, 1913d: 78

Ethics, as applied to history, is teaching the revolution, applied to the state, it is teaching anarchy.

Walter Benjamin, 1918/19: 91

A hundred years ago, Otto Gross wrote theory for the therapy of tomorrow.

Lois Madison, 2001a

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Dr Gottfried M. Heuer is a Jungian training-analyst and -supervisor with the Association of Jungian Analysts, London, and a neo-Reichian body-psychotherapist, in clinical practice for well over 35 years; independent scholar: more than seventy published papers on the links between analysis, radical politics, body-psychotherapy, spirituality and aesthetics, as well as on the history of analytic ideas in *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, *The Journal of Analytical Psychology*, *The International Journal of Jungian Studies*, *Psychoanalytic Perspectives*, *Harvest*, *Psychotherapy and Politics International*, *Spring*, et al. His books include *Täglicher Terror* (Berlin, 1974), *A Translucent Turtle Ascends to the Stars* (London, Berlin, 1984), ten congress- and symposium-proceedings (2000–15) for the International Otto Gross Society (www.ottogross.org/) which he co-founded; *Sacral Revolutions. Reflecting on the Work of Andrew Samuels: Cutting Edges in Psychoanalysis and Jungian Analysis* (Routledge, 2010); and *Sexual Revolutions: Psychoanalysis, History and the Father* (Routledge, 2011). Heuer is also a graphic artist, photographer, sculptor (one-man and group-shows in the UK and abroad), and a published poet.

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Just as it needs an architect to design a building, a book has an author, yet many other minds and hands help to build it. It was some forty years ago that I first heard of Otto Gross. Immediately fascinating, our relationship took time to grow. I emigrated from northern Germany to London, where I met and married Birgit, to whom this book is dedicated. Her loving influence permeates my life and work, including, of course, this study. My most loving gratitude to both her – and our new *Heimat*.

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Since much of the source material of this study remains untranslated, for easier reading, I mention these titles throughout in English. The respective original titles are listed in the References. Where the existing translation of a title or some of its passages into English required improvement, I use my own translation, indicated by 't.m.', 'translation modified'.

Unless noted otherwise, emphases in quotations follow those in the original publications. This occasionally includes spacing, more common in German, especially of the previous century, than in English. However, I have unified differing spellings of names, for example, 'Groß' appears as 'Gross', 'Sofie' as 'Sophie', etc.

Usually, I refer to the latest available publication of a text, which often differs from the date of its first edition. If relevant, I mention the earlier date.

PREFACE

> The greatest and most lasting art, the impetus of it, always comes from a wanting to heal, a wanting to free and an enthusiasm to express discovery.
>
> *Hafiz, fourteenth century (2010: 189)*

However, 'The past doesn't take care of itself . . . it needs angels' (Stanford, 2014), and, 'A writer does not find a truly great subject; a truly great subject finds him' (Kripal, 2007: 17): Otto Gross (1877–1920) may well have been the most controversial of all psychoanalysts in the still rather young history of the profession. No other analyst – with the possible exception of Wilhelm Reich (1897–1957), whom he influenced – seems to have provoked such controversy – and, like Reich, continues to do so. Kafka compared Gross to Christ (1983: 78), for others he was the devil incarnate (see Chapter 7.). His ideas have had a seminal influence on the development of psychoanalytic theory and clinical practice. Yet his work continues to be ignored. Freud saw Gross as 'gifted' (Freud and Jung, 1974: 141), and his work 'outstanding' (ibid.: 227). He appreciated Gross as one of only two analysts 'capable of making an original contribution' (ibid.: 126), and Jung, being the other one, called Gross 'my twin brother' (ibid.: 156), statements reflected in the title of this book.

However, due to his radical political ideas, Freud effectively made Gross an outcast, exacerbated by Jung pronouncing him an incurable schizophrenic, 'a psychopath' (ibid.: 85), and 'a complete nut' (ibid.: 416). In 1921, a year after Gross's death, the writer Anton Kuh (1890–1941) wrote of him as 'a man known only to very few by name – apart from a handful of psychiatrists and secret policemen – and among those few only to those who plucked his feathers to adorn their own posteriors' (1921: 161–2). By that time, the psychiatrists in question – Freud, Jung, and almost all of their followers – had already applied what the Romans called *damnatio memoriae*, deleting Gross's name from publications and

writing him out of history, effectively destroying part of the past to control the future, as I shall show.

Max Weber (1864–1920) developed his concept of charisma with reference to Gross (Whimster, 2011: 192–3), while the writer Franz Werfel (1890–1945) saw him as a priest conducting satanic orgies (Werfel 1989). Gross was a man of extremes and it remains difficult to reconcile his ideas with the way he lived his life: his advocating of and engagement with 'the revolution for matriarchy' (Gross, 1913d: 60), the feminism of his time, his simultaneous idealization of women and his role in the deaths of several of them; his realization of the sacredness of love, and an often chilling unrelatedness (Heuer, 2011); the moving way he could write about what would only much later be described as *The Drama of Being a Child* (Miller, 1995), and the apparently total disinterest and neglect regarding his own children; his ideas of a soul-liberating religion of love and his possible involvement in satanism (Werfel, 1989); politically, his anarchist goal of peaceful relating in mutual support, whilst at the same time engaging with terrorism. But then, history is said to be made in the gap between our intentions and the way we live . . . .

From a depth-psychological perspective, it seems obvious that our life consists of an ever-growing and -changing network of internal and external emotional, intellectual, and spiritual relationships, inextricably engaged in a flux of mutual exchange and dialectical influence. Any division into a portrayal of biographical events on the one hand, and a description of an intellectual development of ideas resulting in a body of work on the other would be arbitrary. This is particularly true for someone like Gross, who abhorred any form of boundaries, and who emphatically lived his life accordingly, without distinguishing personal from professional relationships, or his intellectual work. A catalyst for radical change, Gross played a pivotal role in the birth of modernism. During his brief life, he was in contact with Europe's cultural avant-garde and his wide-ranging influence included not just the emerging field of psychoanalysis, but also revolutionary politics, psychiatry, literature and fine arts, sociology, philosophy and ethics. Gross's influence reaches well into and way beyond post-modernism: he posed questions that have, in the near-century since his death, lost none of their burning urgency. This makes engaging with his life and work worthwhile today: in a manner of speaking, it means 'looking back into the future'.

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INTRODUCTION

News of an unknown

FIGURE 2 Otto Gross, 1877–1920. Generally assumed to be from an earlier date than the one given with the dedication, *'Z[ur] fr[reundlichen] Er[innerun]g'* – in fond memory – *12. VI. 1919*. © Otto Gross Archive/Gottfried M. Heuer, London.

'Possibly the most dramatic cultural transformation in western history' (Morley, 2000), *fin-de-siècle* Vienna signifies more than just the end of a century. Karl Kraus (1874–1934), the 'apocalyptic satirist', called it 'an experimental laboratory for the end of the world' (in Wolff, 1989: 5). It was indeed the end of the world as it was then known, a paradigm shift, an upheaval – a revolution, a 'formative cultural crucible for the elements that shaped the twentieth-century world' (ibid.), in ways that continue to resonate into the present and beyond.

More than others, one man embodied this radical upheaval in his life and work: Otto Gross, physician, psychiatrist, psychoanalyst and anarchist revolutionary. Although a catalyst at the centre of this cultural revolution, today he has almost become an unknown. This is the result of an analytic historiography provocatively called 'Stalinist' (Fromm, 1989: 195): in the history of analysis, just as in Stalinist historiography, labels like 'schizophrenic' or 'psychotic' have been attached to so many of the most brilliant thinkers – Adler, Jung, Ferenczi, Rank, Reich, to name but a few – that such 'diagnoses' can almost be regarded as orders of merit: expressions of the analytic revolution devouring its children. Gross was among the first of these. A dissident, he was made a non-person and almost completely vanished from the record. Today, most analysts have never heard of him, and if they have, their knowledge is usually confined to that condemning label: 'Isn't that the one who became schizophrenic?' And yet, psychoanalyst/philosopher Pierre Bayard states,

> it is not true that the dead are dead. In [. . .] reality, they possess a singular form of existence and continue to mingle with the living, shaping their decisions, dictating their statements and even their thoughts, imperiously demanding, with as much force and steadfastness as the living, finally to be recognized and heard. (2008: 188)

Apart from Gross resurfacing here and there in the memoirs of friends – and enemies – for some fifty years after his death, what almost amounts to a 'conspiracy of silence' has held tight. Only in the last forty years have scholars become interested in his life and work. Yet most of these have focused more on Gross's 'scandalous' bohemian lifestyle or his general cultural influence. An in-depth engagement with what I see as Gross's primary contributions, psychoanalysis and politics, and the impact of his ideas on the development of both analytical and political theory and practice, reverberating to the present – and to a post-postmodern future – has so far been lacking. The present study aims to fill this gap by focusing on Gross the psychoanalyst and revolutionary, to thus facilitate the return of the repressed in these areas.

There are, of course, alternative perspectives: perhaps the most intriguing of these considers Gross's contributions to psychiatry as more important than those to any other field. Indeed, a large part of his known texts deal with psychiatric themes. Lacanian analyst Michael Turnheim (1993), has focused on Gross the psychiatrist, and Lois Madison researched specific psychiatric themes (2001, 2001a, 2001b, 2001c, 2003).

Other scholars have authoritatively engaged with still different aspects: Martin Green initiated a general reawakening of interest by researching Gross's impact on Max Weber's sociology and his life and that of those close to him (1974). Weber-scholar Sam Whimster continued this theme in a pioneering way (ed., 1999; 2005; 2011): until then, Weber's involvement with Gross and his ideas had been largely taboo within this field. In 1979, Emanuel Hurwitz published his comprehensive study of Gross, and Jennifer Michaels (1983) presented authoritative in-depth research of the extent of Gross's influence on the writers of his generation. Law historian and lawyer Albrecht Götz von Olenhusen focused on the paradigmatic generational conflict between Gross and his father (2002, ed.; 2003; 2005). These approaches to Gross and his work are outside of the remit of this study, and shall be touched upon only briefly where appropriate.

I have divided my book into eight chapters. Before harvesting the fruits of well over twenty years of research, and following the Preface and Introduction, I introduce a *trans-historical* methodology in Chapter 1. This is a trans-temporal, trans-generational and trans-personal approach to the past as an intersubjective web of ideas and concepts centring on Gross and my being in relationship with him. Based in core aspects of his work, as well as the historical conceptualizations of Walter Benjamin (1892–1940), my research-method arcs backwards to the past with the intention to contribute to healing present and future. This orientation equalizes meaning and fact and contains a redemptive and numinous dimension – numinous in the sense in which intimate interrelating, conditional for healing, invokes the presence of the holy. The purpose of my trans-historical method stands in the tradition of reconciliatory justice as practised by the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission: brought together on the trans-historical stage of the present study, victims and perpetrators have the opportunity to meet face-to-face, as it were. Historical transgressions – suppressed and disowned truths – are brought to light. In addition, the victim's suffering is witnessed and perpetrators are exposed to it. In this way, transgressions are acknowledged retroactively, and witnessed by a group which includes the reader: an interrelational process towards 'healing wounded history'. Apart from the obvious focus on Gross's psychoanalytic and political work, this is my most important subject. The first chapter (as well as Chapter 7) begins in an unusual way with a chorus of different voices to tune in to its subject: time per se, the past, memory, history, healing, spirituality, and our place within, and relationship with, these. This is an integral stylistic facet of the pluralistic method I am advancing, as I shall explain in greater detail in my 'Note on Style' in the following chapter. Naturally, this spawns a lengthy bibliography.

From this trans-historical intersubjective perspective, in Chapter 2, I explore my relationship with Gross in terms of experiential, emotional and intellectual elective affinities. I present dialectical resonances between us, where the trajectories of our respective lives seem to intersect synchronistically so that new meanings may emerge for either of us. Contrary to social convention, this means that I must speak about myself prior to writing about Gross, in order to avoid the traditional way of presenting my research in what I consider a pseudo-objective

manner, in which the subjectivity of my life-experience would seem to have played no part at all.

Chapter 3 is divided into three parts: I. a brief introduction to psychoanalytic historiography, followed by II. the development of Gross's psychoanalytic theories and clinical practice, beginning with testimonies of his work with patients, and III. Gross's influence on the development of psychoanalytical theory and clinical practice via his relationships with and influence on his professional contemporaries.

Chapter 4 focuses on Gross's mutually influential relationships with his revolutionary friends, and in Chapter 5, I present selected themes of the philosophical origins of their radical ideas in terms of a sacralized dialectic of interrelating between equals.

Chapter 6 gives a biographical survey of Gross's life, and Chapter 7 begins, as mentioned, with numerous responses past and present to his life and work, before continuing with his gradual rediscovery and evaluation. Chapter 8, the Conclusion, presents a summary of the present study, suggestions for future Gross-research, and a brief overview of some reverberations of Gross's ideas in the present. The Appendix focuses on the important recent discovery of the complete file detailing Gross's 1911 treatment at the psychiatric clinic of Mendrisio, southern Switzerland. Never before fully evaluated, it offers crucial new insights into Gross's family background and family relationships, which form the basis of his psychoanalytic and political contributions.

This is followed by a rather bulky bibliography, resulting from a necessary ethical attitude towards sources and origins of ideas. An additional reason for its size is the fact that, as a challenge to established perspectives on the history of the psychoanalytic movement and the evolution of its ideas, my argument requires a firm grounding in source-based evidence. However, its controversial nature implies a continuing process of healing the past by changing it. In this context, the saying, 'you can't make an omelette without breaking some eggs' comes to mind, a phrase I immediately associated with a dream I had in the final phase of writing this study: in my dream, I am in a kind of cooking-exam, making an omelette for Freud, who sits at a round table with another man – might he be Jung? Or Gross? – I serve Freud the omelette on a white plate. He tastes it, and – 'Hmmhh', he expresses approvingly, 'edible!' – I feel I have passed the test by receiving affirmation from the founder of psychoanalysis.

In my controversial argument, the elliptical trajectory of my trans-historical approach gathers together multiple strands of ideas, each of which can be linked directly or indirectly to those of Gross. Inspired by Benjamin's concept of collapsing time, and his 'gift of fanning the spark of hope in the past' (1973: 257), I move forward, beyond the postmodern, in an intersubjective, poetic and trans-temporal take on history, where the personal/intimate and the collective/political form a dialectic whole within a sacred space – called *temenos* by Jung – in order to heal the wounded past, in the present, and thus help to bring about a redeemed future: Gross 'gave me the stars, I drew the constellation' (Shapiro, 2011: i).

1

‘HEALING WOUNDED HISTORY’[1]

Looking back to the future: A trans-historical, intersubjective, psychoanalytic and sacral-political methodology

FIGURE 3 *The Angel of History*, Iona, 2013. Stone-balance and photograph Gottfried M. Heuer. © Otto Gross Archive/Gottfried M. Heuer, London.

> This is how one pictures the angel of history: His face is turned towards the past . . . The angel would like to stay, awaken the dead, and make whole what has been smashed. But a storm is blowing from Paradise, it has got caught in his wings . . . that the angel can no longer close them. The storm irresistibly propels him into the future to which his back is turned.
>
> *Benjamin, 1973: 259–60*

As mentioned in the Introduction, this chapter begins with a chorus of voices, attuning to engaging with the past and its multiple reverberations:

> Extracts
>
> (Supplied by a Sub-Sub-Librarian)
>
> It will be seen that this painstaking burrower and grub-worm of a poor devil of a Sub-Sub appears to have gone through the long Vaticans and street-stalls of the earth, picking at whatever random allusions to [history] he could always find in any book whatsoever, sacred or profane. Therefore you must not, in every case at least, take the higgledy-piggledy [. . .] statements in these extracts, for veritable gospel [. . .] Far from it. As touching the ancient authors generally are [. . .] these extracts are solely valuable or entertaining, as affording a bird's eye view of what has been promiscuously said, thought, fancied, and sung [. . .].
>
> So fare thee well, poor devil of a Sub-Sub, whose commentator I am.
>
> *Melville, 1950: xxxiii*

> *'Historia magistra vitae est'* – History is life's teacher.
>
> *Cicero, 1862: 36*

> It is the business and duty of historians to be exact, truthful, and wholly free from passion, and neither interest nor fear, hatred nor love, should make them swerve from the path of truth, whose mother is history, rival of time, storehouse of deeds, witness for the past, example and counsel for the present, and warning for the future.
>
> *Cervantes, 1605*

> When to the sessions of sweet silent thought
> I summon up remembrance of things past,
> I sight the lack of many a thing I sought,
> And with old woes new wail my dear time's waste:
> Then I can drown an eye, unused to flow,
> For precious friends hid in death's dateless night . . .
>
> *Shakespeare, 1609, Sonnet XXX*

> Each epoch dreams the one to follow.
>
> *Michelet, 1839, in Benjamin, 1999: 4*

> People make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under self-selected circumstances, but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brains of the living. And just as they seem to be occupied with revolutionizing themselves and things, creating something that did not exist before, precisely in such epochs of revolutionary crisis they [. . .] conjure up the spirits of the past.
>
> *Marx, 1852*

> The only difference between reality and fiction is that fiction needs to be credible.
>
> *Twain, n.d.*

> Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it.
>
> *Santayana, 1906: 284*

> The distinction between past, present and future is only a stubbornly persistent illusion.
>
> *Einstein, in Monk, 2013*

> You have jumped off, you know not how, into the dark wide mystery of time, where the past is very alive, and the future is not yet separated off [. . .] where the chariots of the so-called dead dash down the streets of centuries, and souls crowd on the footways that we, in the moment, call bygone years. The souls of all the dead are alive again, and pulsating actively around you. You are out in the other infinity [. . .] the other worlds of undying time.
>
> *Lawrence, 1956: 166*

> Every epoch, in fact, not only dreams the one to follow but, in dreaming, precipitates its awakening.
>
> *Benjamin, 1999: 13*

> Memory is the archive from which one day the world-historical reckoning will come.
>
> *Kuh, in Krischke and Madeja, 1991*

> And, without memory, we will always be burdened by guilt.
>
> *J. Rasumow, in Neef, 2015: 94*

More recently, others have been puzzling and commenting on the mystery of the past we call history. The fact that the flow of different voices on the subject changes direction at this point from direct quotation to paraphrase requires an explanation: the law intrudes on creative expression – an issue directly related

to the core subject of the present study. According to current copyright law, particularly stringent in the English-speaking world, to continue the chorus of voices with direct quotes from authors still in copyright, i.e. not dead for seventy years, requires permission in every instance. As obtaining these is either very difficult or requires payment of prohibitive fees, the best alternative is to paraphrase. In the paragraphs below, the flow of voices thus continues, albeit indirectly rendered, except in one instance where this is thematically appropriate. You can access the actual wording online, or by e-mailing me: gottfried.heuer@virgin.net.

In 1961, McLeod asserted that history was too serious to be left to historians (in Metcalf, 1987: 120), a few years later, the Rolling Stones claimed that yesterday don't matter if it's gone (Jagger and Richards, 1967), a sentiment echoed – understandably, given his political past – fifty years later by Tony Blair, opining that, you know, we can debate the past, but it's probably not very fruitful to do so (in Hyde, 2014). For possibly similar reasons, George W. Bush maintained it was generally agreed, the past is over (2000).

Writer Tim Brookes thought that, in a sense, the past is past, though it merges with what we think of as the present. An era should be judged not by its eccentricities, which glow in their strange light and die, but by what survives (2000: 165).

Writer Sam Shepard experiences the past as this moment escaping (1978: 45). The poet W. H. Auden sees man as a history-making creature who can neither repeat the past nor leave it behind; at every moment he adds to and thereby modifies everything that had previously happened to him (1975: 278). An anonymous author believes we are what we remember, and even when we invent, we write what we remember. Every line is a fragment of something else (Anon., 2014). Correspondingly, Jeffrey Kripal, historian of religious thought, experiences history as fundamentally creative, metaphorical and linguistic; something through which the world is revealed as a mystery we interpret into being, and are in turn interpreted by (2007: 15).

Ronald Reagan claimed that facts are stupid things (n.d.). Writer Elizabeth Arthur argued that, while the facts remain the same, the truth is always changing (2004: 776). 'When the facts change, I change my mind. What do you do?' (Keynes, in Freedland, 2015: 31).

Bruno Bettelheim held that psychoanalysis is concerned with the discovery of events in the past life of the individual and with their consequences for him, and neither the events nor the consequences can ever be the same for two persons (1991: 42).

Literary scientist and playwright Svetlana Boym bemoans that the past has become much more unpredictable than the future (2001: xiv). Writer Joachim Meyerhoff agrees: to him, it looks more and more as if the past were a much less secured and guaranteed place than the future. He wonders whether that which is behind me is supposed to be the secured, having happened, and only waiting to be told. Is that which is ahead of me then the so-called to-be-formed future? What if I have [had] to form my past, too? What if an open future may only grow from a past which has been thoroughly explored and thus formed? (2013: 348).

Psychoanalytic historian Paul Roazen asserts that history-writing, at its best, is inherently subversive and upsetting, and that burrowing in the past means at least potentially to attack the established present (2003: 21). Journalist Timothy Garton Ash agrees that facts are subversive (2009). Film-maker and Hollywood historian Kenneth Anger quips that there are facts, and then there is gossip. He goes for the facts, but will listen to the gossip (Anger and Castoro, 2012: 112). An anonymous author concludes history is a hard core of interpretation surrounded by a pulp of disputable facts (in Metcalf, 1987: 120).

For the philosopher Bertrand Vergely, the past does not come to an end with the appearance of the new, the modern world. It still lives among us, in myriad ways. To him the present is not the negation of the past, nor the past the negation of the present, since everything is always beginning and everything is always beginning again, because everything always continues. The genius of the Moderns is to have known how to begin again, in order to bring alive the only message that matters, that of continuing to live (2005, in Bishop, 2011: 26). With regard to an individual fate, Elizabeth Arthur describes her insight that the dead always stand at the gateway of the human imagination (2004: 6).

Perplexed, conservative historian Max Hastings recently declared history to be a muddle (2015: 34).

★★★

In this chapter, I am introducing my historiographical methodology by unpacking what I previously referred to as a trans-historical web of interrelated ideas. I differentiate between traditional, orthodox approaches and contemporary ones which correspond to leading-edge discoveries in the natural sciences – especially quantum physics and neurobiology – on the nature of time and reality itself. These open up new possibilities of relating to the past in more intimate ways, and thus to better grasp the present. I am introducing a new – and therefore still controversial – methodological approach to the understanding of history. I call the method I am advancing and using in my engaging with reality past, present, and future, 'trans-historical' and 'psychoanalytic-poetic'. 'Trans-historical' means that I do not adhere to the conventionally assumed chronological sequence of past, present and future. My term implies an a-temporal dimension in which these coincide, and which is patterned by meaning. Such interconnection has been argued by theoretical physicist Karen Barad (2007) and Jungian analyst Birgit Heuer (2015). In addition, 'poetic' is used here in the historian Jacobitti's aesthetic terms. Paraphrasing Nietzsche, Jacobitti argued, 'To bring [. . .] the past to life so it can serve the present and reach into the future is to bring "the soul of historiography" under the dominion of "aesthetical criteria"' (Jacobitti, 2000: 33), 'and thus coming close to free poeticizing' (Nietzsche, 1874). Ideally, this trans-temporal network should be imagined at least three-dimensionally, forming a whole – which I envisage as an *open* system – where all aspects are dialectically interrelated, and ready to link with other dimensions outside, akin to our brain, or the body/mind/spirit unity we constitute as human

beings, forming an individual unity on the one hand, and, simultaneously, collectively interrelated: 'a thousand fibers connect us with our fellow men' (Melville, in E. Campbell, 1995: 89). In addition, of course, an open system means that these metaphoric 'thousand fibers' – actually, there are infinitely more – simultaneously also reach out to everything else in the 'everywhere' and the 'everywhen'. An open system also must include leaving the traditional confinements of conventional science in favour of a more literal understanding and application of *Wissenschaft*, German for science, which refers to all that creates and furthers knowledge – mirroring the Greek *historia*, meaning 'knowledge acquired by inquiry'. Inevitably, this then touches the perennial questions concerning the enigma of time, space and our existence within these. Therefore, my methodology is not only taking into account leading-edge scientific research on the nature of time and reality in quantum physics and neurobiology, but also includes a metaphysical dimension. Taken together, these aspects open up new possibilities which point to ways of more intimately relating with the past, and thus to better understand the present moment and our trajectory into the future. This is poignantly expressed by Benjamin: 'The innermost structures of the past are illuminated for each person only in the light which emanates from the incandescence [*Weissglut*] of their actualities' (Benjamin, 1979: 238). To present the interrelated multi-dimensionality of this web in the remainder of this chapter in linear sequence of the written word woven into a textual format, cannot possibly do justice to its actual complexity. In my attempt to do so, I see myself as partaking of this multi-relational open system, highlighting certain ideas and concepts subjectively chosen as relevant.

Otto Gross lived his life within the intense dynamics – comparable to those of an electric field – between two poles he formulated as 'the conflict between self and other' (1913d: 79) at one extreme, and striving to overcome this conflict at the other by 'replacing the will to power with the will to relating' (1919c: 355). '"Relationship" was the central focus of his teachings for renewing the world' (Werfel, 1990: 347). From this, Gross developed his intersubjective perspective of a dialectic relating as equals. This concept also forms the basis of my interrelationship with him: a trans-historical redemptive approach as my research method allows the same dialectic between him and me, researcher and subject. Like Gross, I experience the dynamics of these two poles within myself, the other within as well as any other without, be that spouse, family-member, friend, patient, acquaintance. For me as a man – as it did for Gross – the 'other' often appears in feminine form. The term 'feminine' requires clarification, as it can easily be misunderstood as continuing to express a patriarchal perspective. In this, important shared human qualities can be feminized and thus be rejected as 'other'. Importantly, Gross used the term in his theory with reparative intention, although his work only represents the very beginnings of a critical gender-awareness. However, in a trans-historical perspective it makes sense to continue to apply the term in this Grossian way, even though, from a contemporary point of view, it describes essential aspects of humanity irrespective of gender.

Gross's concept of dialectic intersubjectivity is based in the anarchist principle of mutual exchange between equals in the psychoanalytic relationship. At the same

time, he appears to have been the first to conceive of the identity of the individual and the collective, the personal as the political. For him, this also included the religious dimension. These are his main contributions to both psychoanalytic and political theory and practice. My historiographical method simultaneously corresponds to and reflects his work. Informed by contributions to individual psychoanalysis and collective politics which Gross initiated, my vision is profoundly interrelational, resulting in a new intersubjective psychoanalytic and trans-historical perspective, where subject and object, past, present and future, as well as the personal, the collective and the sacral are seen as being interlinked, each understood as dialectically and mutually enhancing each other. In this approach, I honour the individually differentiating 'interpretative function of perception' (Schucman and Thetford, 1999: 43), where every evidence or testimony regarding past or present is understood as being related to individual perspective, choice, opinion and intention, each of which needs to be considered in every instance. This results in including many different voices: I am approaching the past in a pluralistic manner.

Via a series of circular or elliptical conceptual movements, in this study, method and content thus form a complex dialectic unity: from the present moment in time I reflect – that is, literally, bend backwards to – Gross's ideas, whilst simultaneously envisioning the future. This is the position Walter Benjamin conceived of 'the angel of history' (1973: 259; see Figure 3 at the start of this chapter), poised between past and future on the threshold of a continuous Now. In this context, Benjamin opens up the numinous dimension in calling upon the historian to be 'a prophet turned backwards' (2010: 125; quoting the philosopher Friedrich Schlegel, 1772–1829). This contains the core and basis of my approach: implicit is the dialectical relationship of past and future, meeting in the present Now – and we might sense a breath of the sacred, too, experiencing 'the present [as] holy ground – the only place where eternity meets linear time [. . .], the Holy Instant' (Williamson, 2004: 109). Desmond Tutu also envisions a numinous dimension of history: 'God works through history to realize God's dream' (2005: 122), considering 'prayer to change history' (ibid.: 147), in linking the personal and the political with the sacral. Importantly, Tutu emphasizes a healing purpose to engaging with history, and this redemptive intention profoundly informs my trans-historical method. In addition, Benjamin emphasizes a collective interrelation with the personal past, 'The image lightening up from the past in the now of its recognizability is a memory-image. It resembles the images from one's own past' (Benjamin, 2010: 129). Next to Gross's psychology, Benjamin's philosophy is the second main source of my methodological approach. Although there is no documentary evidence that either knew of the other, Benjamin's philosophical concepts in many ways both parallel and extend the psychoanalytical, political and spiritual ones of Gross.

However, the devastating experiences of their respective final years unmistakably cast shadows on both Gross's psychology as well as Benjamin's philosophy. This needs to be taken into account when reaching beyond such pessimistic/nihilistic aspects. Here, I am concerned with the *Aufhebung* of the past, the Hegelian term in its threefold meaning of elevation, preservation and cancellation. This is

reflected in Epstein's view that 'Post-postmodernism witnesses the re-birth of utopia after its own death, after its subjection to postmodernism's severe scepticism, relativism and its anti-utopian consciousness' (1997). In this context, Birgit Heuer (2011; 2015) argues for reaching beyond the frequently one-sided focus in the deconstructive approach of the postmodern – without, of course, losing its critical capacities or turning a blind eye to that which continues to require healing – so that a constructive perspective of hope and healing may be freed from cynicism and doubt and be filled with new meaning, re-linked with a new sense of the holy, and to recover its original function in contemporary prayer. Philosopher/psychoanalyst Jonathan Lear speaks of *Radical Hope* (2008): a hope which can be found after all negativities have been faced, and trusting that there is sufficient goodness in the world for things to turn out alright – even if there is nothing rationally knowable on which to base such faith, to prepare our hearts for 'the beauty of a future beyond what [we] can imagine' (Williamson, 2013: 151). This perspective may be summed up as a post-postmodern sensibility (B. Heuer, 2015).

'Restor[ing] the years that the locust hath eaten' (Joel 2:25), my aim is to contribute to a redemptive renewal, in a permanently unfolding 'revolution of the heart' (Jones, 2005), and a healing of trauma through relating. A similar idea is increasingly argued by psychoanalysts currently engaged in this theme (Boston Change Process Study Group, 2010; Wilkinson, 2010). For this purpose, I use the past in the here-and-now to help create a more whole future, 'whole' understood here in its phonetic relationship to holy and healed. 'In the ancient Greek world, history, storytelling and healing were closely linked' (Meyer, 2007: 172), echoed by the Roman historian Livy's, 'The study of history is the best medicine' (in ibid.: 171). This way of engaging with the past corresponds to the results of recent neurological research, according to which one of the very purposes of the development of our capacity for memory is not simply to hold on to the past in the form of memories, but to imagine them anew in order to create the basis for a better future. Healing the past means changing it. Collectively, this relates to a Benjaminian view of 'a past in need of redemption, a moral debt paid to preceding generations' (Marcus and Nead, 1998: 10). As mentioned, the principle of my trans-historical method links with the reconciliatory justice of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission. On the trans-historical stage of the present study, victims and perpetrators meet face-to-face, as it were. Transgressions of the past – suppressed truths – are brought to light, and the victim's suffering can be witnessed retroactively not only by perpetrators, but also by a group which includes the reader in an interrelational process, so that wounded history may be healed.

In the remainder of this chapter, I further amplify some of the aspects of my methodological approach touched upon thus far. As mentioned, the concept of dialectics is foundational to the present study. It was originally used in Greek antiquity to refer to various methods of reasoning. The term is derived from *dialektike*, the '(art) of debate', and related to *dialogos*, to converse with, to talk through. Particularly interesting here is the mention of art and the use of the preposition 'with' instead of 'to': already at its very etymological root, there

seems to be an implication of an intersubjective relation between equals, rather than a hierarchical one between subject and object, and there is also space for artistic creativity, inviting a wide range of free associations and amplifications. In Chapter 5, I shall describe in more detail how the concept of dialectics, in the specific way relevant to the present study, has developed since antiquity. Here, I show how it informs my methodological approach, and the ways in which I am applying it by gathering together different aspects to inform a perspective on the nature of reality and time – past, present, future – and how I see us relating with these: a dialectical flow between memory and history, objectivity and subjectivity, and, trans-historically, between author and subject, including ethical concerns.

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My understanding of dialectics includes a paradoxical interrelating between the two sides of any pair on one level, as well as an over-arching unity on another. With regard to the phenomenon of time, 'Nothing ever happened in the past; it happened in the Now. Nothing will ever happen in the future; it will happen in the Now' (Tolle, 1999: 41). This echoes Jung's 'We are living in what the Greeks called the *kairos* – the right moment – for a "metamorphosis of the gods", of the fundamental principles and symbols' (1957: 304). 'To come to terms with the *kairos*', James Hillman comments in, 'Senex and puer: an aspect of the historical and psychological present' (1979)

> . . . would mean discovering a connection between past and future. For us, individuals, make-weights that may tip the scales of history, our task is to discover the *psychic connection* between past and future [. . .] Thus the *kairos*, this unique moment of transition in world history, becomes a transition within the microcosm, man, within us each individually. (ibid.: 4)

Correspondingly, historian Peter Ackroyd speaks of past and present being 'entwined like lovers in an embrace' (in Lowenstein, 2007). For Gross, the intimate linking between individuals corresponded to that of groups in the collective/political sphere, and for him, both invoke the spiritual. Similarly, Benjamin sees history as being 'shot through with splinters of Messianic time' (1973: 265), linked with the prophetic-messianic aspects of the historian's task:

> To articulate the past historically does not mean to recognize it 'the way it really was' (Ranke). It means to seize hold of a memory that flashes up in a moment of danger [. . .] In every era the attempt must be made anew to wrest tradition away from a conformism that is about to overpower it [. . .] Only that historian will have the gift of fanning the spark of hope in the past who is firmly convinced that *even the dead* will not be safe from the enemy if he wins. And this enemy has not ceased to be victorious. (1973: 257)

I understand Benjamin as speaking of the ineffable moment of transformation, which, at best, we may succeed in preparing for, but which we cannot simply create at will. Benjamin's definition of the historian's task corresponds to Gross's, who saw his psychoanalytic and political work as 'p r e p a r a t o r y [. . .] for the revolution' (1913d: 78). In the final sentence of the above quote, Benjamin echoes Henry James's (1843–1916) deeply touching 'recovering the lost was at all events [. . .] much like entering the enemy's lines to get back one's dead for burial' (James 1917: 48). Historian Simon Schama comments that,

> it sets out the habitually insoluble quandary of the historian: how to live in two worlds at once; how to take the broken, mutilated remains of something or someone from the 'enemy lines' of the documented past and restore it to life. (1991: 319)

For me, thus reclaiming Otto Gross from the 'enemy lines' of repressed and wounded psychoanalytic history, also touches upon the dimension the Talmud refers to in 'to redeem one person – to save a life – is to redeem the world' (Sanhedrin, 37a). Here, the historian acts as a psychopomp, a Hermes-like soul-guide who can lead the dead back into life across a no-man's land, the transitional space between the realm of the dead and that of the living, to ensure that those condemned to be forgotten do get an afterlife. Benjamin understood that,

> history is not simply a science but also and not least a form of remembrance <*Eingedenken*>. What science has 'determined', remembrance can modify. Such mindfulness can make the incomplete (happiness) into something complete, and the complete (suffering) into something incomplete. That is theology; but in remembrance we have an experience that forbids us to conceive of history as fundamentally atheological. (1999: 471)

For both Gross and Benjamin,

> theology and politics [were] two paths to the same goal [. . .] Politics can be rendered equivalent to theology, but only when the politics in question takes the past as well as the present as its field of action. In that case, politics and theology find themselves united by a redemptive impulse and a distinctive constituency: the victims of history [. . .]. Only a redemptive criticism could rescue the defeated, not just from defeat itself and its consequences but from the fate of being lost to history altogether [. . .]. The Messiah eagerly anticipated in the Jewish apocalyptic tradition [. . .] made whole, repaired (*tikkun*) a historically fractured existence. (Buse et al., 2005: 42–4)

Considering the roots of Benjamin's philosophy in Judaism, 'the central observance of which is the reading of sacred texts recounting the history of the Jewish people' (ibid.: 41), helps to complete a conceptual cycle of interlinking ideas,

where religion, history, politics and analysis – both of the individual as well as the collective – merge. Supported by his anarchist friends, several of them Jewish, Gross raised the spiritual component of the analytic process into explicit awareness, simultaneously linking this process with a resacralization of revolutionary politics (see Chapters 3 and 4). Rooted in this same tradition, Andrew Samuels uses the same term, *tikkun*, 'healing the world', with reference to both psychoanalysis as well as transformative politics (2014: 650). Earlier, Samuels defined the '"resacralization" of politics – that is, making politics holy, which involves getting a sense of purpose, decency, aspiration and meaning back into political culture' (2001: 18):

> The transformation of politics sought here means that outer world issues will not be looked at as divorced from the personal and subjective lives of the people involved. Transformative politics is also a profound form of self-expression, perhaps on a spiritual level, and requires a new understanding of social action as part of the citizen's individuation. (Ibid.: 197)

Jungian Robert Romanyshyn (2007) applied original Grossian psychodynamic analytical concepts, developed further by C.G. Jung, by assuming a meaningful dialectic between the researcher and his or her chosen subject. Jung had stated, 'For two personalities to meet is like mixing two chemical substances: if there is any combination at all, both are transformed' (Jung, 1931: 71). Earlier, historian Wilhelm Dilthey (1833–1911), had argued that 'once an historian became engaged in the hermeneutic process, greater self-knowledge would result' (in Meyer, 2007: 7). But how does this relationship – or any other which grows towards meaningfulness – begin? In psychodynamic couple-therapy it is assumed that people attract each other who have similar wounds, yet have developed different ways of trying to heal them (Hendrix, 1993: 290–91): the way we choose an other is understood as being based in a kind of unconscious resonance in terms of what each requires on their journey towards healing and greater wholeness. Correspondingly, Romanyshyn argues a fundamental intergenerational psychical pre-connection between researcher and subject. Thus, healing past history 'reflects our joint will [. . .]. [It] is the way in which [. . .] separation is overcome' (Schucman and Thetford, 1999: 145). This reflects the homeopathic 'Principle of Similarity'– *similia similibus curantur*, likes cured by likes – already mentioned by Hippocrates (460–370 BCE), and Paracelsus (1493–1541), and used in Ayurvedic medicine. It is only comparatively recent that Western science is catching up with many of these ancient findings in the areas of quantum physics and neurobiology (see below). Just as Jung perceived the space of the analytic clinic as sacred, and used the term *temenos* to express this, Romanyshyn speaks of 'the ritual space of transference that exists between a researcher and his or her topic' (2007: 13).

'The muse of history is Clio, her name signifies *gloria*, honor, celebration' (Hillman, 1979: 7). Mythologically, Clio 'and Psyche – history and depth psychology – are, in fact, sisters under the skin' (Meyer, 2007: xi). From this patriarchal mythopsychological perspective, it is the feminine which may be seen as the source

of the exploratory and redemptive endeavour: 'Anima draws us into history, so that the struggle with history – of ourselves as cases, and of our ancestors and our culture – is a way of soul-making' (Hillman, 1985: 19). 'History is in the soul', Meyer comments, 'waiting to be rediscovered in therapy' (2007: 67). Without mentioning psychoanalysis, the historian Edmund Jacobitti has presented a perspective on history which closely parallels the psychodynamic one: in speaking of the historian as 'composing useful pasts' (2000), he described a subjective approach to rearranging – that is, changing – the past in accordance with present needs to better cope with the future. Correspondingly, historian Michael Wood considered historical figures as 'hard to pin down [. . .] because like us, they're always on the move as we constantly re-invent them to suit our own times' (in Meyer, 2007: 10). My trans-historical approach takes this concept a step further: from (re-)composing/re-inventing towards redeeming and healing.

Possibly the first to explicitly write about the correspondence between psychoanalysis and history was Norman O. Brown, subtitling his 1959 book, *The psychoanalytic meaning of history*, and arguing:

> What is needed is a synthesis of psychoanalysis, anthropology and history [. . .]. A reinterpretation of history is not an appendage to psychoanalysis but an integral part of it [. . .] the theory of neurosis must embrace a theory of history; and conversely the theory of history must embrace a theory of neurosis [. . .]. And the method of psychoanalytical therapy is to deepen the historical consciousness of the individual ('fill up the memory gaps') till he awakens from his own history. (Ibid.: xiii, 12, 13, 19)

Since then, others have reflected on the dialectics between history and analysis: for example, one year after Jacobitti, psychoanalyst Eran Rolnik published 'Between memory and desire: From history to psychoanalysis and back' (2001).

The sorority of Clio and Psyche raises several further issues: an interrelationship between the past and the unconscious, and appropriate ways to approach either; the subjectivity of memory, which unsettles the assumed objectivity of historical fact, blurring the distinction between *Narrative Truth and Historical Truth* (Spence, 1982); and the creation of myth and its place in historical discourse. Moreover, the past has been regarded as 'a foreign country' (Hartley, 1999: 7), rendering it out of reach, and lost forever: we may decide to visit a foreign country, yet it is ultimately inaccessible. Historian George Trevelyan spoke of 'that land of mystery we call the past' (in Meyer, 2007: 35), which we may well compare with the unconscious.

From a neo-Grossian perspective, both Freud and Jung, in their respective ways of conceptualizing what lies concealed in this foreign country of the unconscious, used an approach based on power: 'the repressed is foreign territory' Freud stated (1933: 57), having compared himself to a conquistador (1985: 398). Jung used the analogy of rider and horse – the latter symbolizing 'the subordinate sphere' (1952: 275) of the unconscious. Viewing power and relating as mutually exclusive, Gross might have called this a non-relationship. In view of the bloody conquests

of meso-American cultures, and the fact that, in Jung's time, horses still had to be *broken/broken in*, and the contrast to the comparatively recent concept of the 'horse-whisperer', who instead *relates* to the animal, might we argue, for a 'history-whisperer'? Freud's and Jung's power-based approach is reflected in the vocabulary of psychoanalysis, a language of military conflict: defence, projection, repression, resistance, etc. (see B. Heuer, 2015). Clearly, here we might be reaching the limits of a patriarchally informed language: subject and object, too, are terms of hostile (non-)relations, with their meanings of subjugation and countering. However, 'An interpretive act must not be a forcible seizure, a "rape"' (Palmer, 1969: 244).

Conversely, my interrelational approach to the past envisages a thawing, or melting, an attitude which the body-psychotherapist Gerda Boyesen (1922–2005) has called 'biodynamic': aiming to effect lasting change, she argued that, in bodily terms, the frozen energy of a muscular tension which is confrontationally approached, 'broken', is bound to reappear elsewhere in the body in strengthened form. Similarly, in rewriting psychoanalytic history in order to melt its frozen narrative, I am arguing for a caring, gentle, relational approach of dialectic mutuality with an alive other – 'history *is alive*' (Meyer, 2007: xii; emph. G.H.). This means complementing the traditionally 'static masculine' with the 'dynamic feminine' (Hill, 1992: 16–17), and, again, chimes with Gross's observation 'The coming revolution is the revolution for matriarchy' (1913d: 80). I must re-emphasize that these generalized terms are used for critical purpose, and, beyond this, simply describe human qualities.

In Greek mythology, Clio, history, is born of Mnemosyne, memory. Yet, every memory cannot be but subjective: 'our conscious awareness of the width and depth of historical development is [. . .] not clearer than the experience of a dream' (Kollert, 2000: 14). The etymological root of the term 'history' leads back via 'inquiry', 'knowing' and 'seeing' to 'vision', again interlinking the work of the historian with that of the psychoanalyst: *both* are engaged in creating 'useful pasts', for – and with – the collective, the former, for – and also with – the individual, the latter. According to the Talmud, 'We don't see the world as it is – we see the world as we are.' Therefore, the subjectivity of every testimony of the past, as that of every memory, needs to be taken into account. For both historian as well as the analyst, this means an open, yet not uncritical, attitude with a Coleridgean 'suspension of disbelief', as Freud recommended.

'Any decent historian would immediately throw this in the bin!' – I well remember an established historian of psychoanalysis commenting on my initial research into the life and work of Otto Gross: as source-material, I had used memoirs and autobiographical texts by authors who had known Gross personally, and I continue to do so. In the mid-1990s, these documents were not regarded as acceptable source-material. At the same time, the scientific revolution within historiography provoked another orthodox historian to what appeared almost like a panic-reaction in responding to the changes underfoot in a book-length study, *The Killing of History: How Literary Critics and Social Theorists Are Murdering Our Past* (Windschuttle, 1996). Only gradually has the notion gained ground that the

historian/biographer must 'walk the unstable border between fiction and non-fiction' (O'Hagan, 2014: 5), as 'even in the most austere scholarly report [. . .] the inventive faculty [. . .] is in full play' (Schama, 1991: 322). Today, the outrage of the early commentator on my research may be understood as the expression of a patriarchal tradition. This involves a fantasy that it might be possible to control the unknown, and it is fuelled by simultaneously knowing this to be impossible, for, at best, we may just be 'possibilitarians' (Musil, 1997: 12). From a relational perspective, the intended objectivity is a power relationship, almost a contradiction in terms, and an obstacle to healing the past rather than furthering its understanding.

Three examples serve to illustrate this. The first is from the lengthy legal proceedings of Gross's attempt at overturning the judgment of being declared legally insane, stripped of his civil rights and put under guardianship; there is on file the record of a 1916 hearing at the Imperial Royal Court, Vienna, signed by five people present: the judge, his secretary, Gross, and two psychiatrists – clearly documenting a historical fact. However, under these circumstances, what *else* was he going to say, other than – as recorded in writing – that he had led an ordered life, was fulfilling his military duties as an army physician, was no longer dependent on morphine or cocaine, had diligently used the money he had earned, was in a long-term relationship of two years, intended to marry his lover and settle down as a physician once the war was over? Was that the truth?

The second is a travel-memoir, which describes a conversation with a Santa Fé, New Mexico hotelier who personally knew Frieda Lawrence (1879–1956), Gross erstwhile lover. This man claims that after D.H. Lawrence's death in 1930, his wife, together with Dorothy Brett (1883–1977) and Mabel Dodge Luhan (1879–1962), who had all been close to him, together *ate* his corpse (Shukman, 1996: 83–4). Personally, I believe this story to be unlikely to constitute a historical fact. Nevertheless, I do consider it an interesting amplification of studies concerning Lawrence's relationship with women.

For the third example, correspondingly, as I mention in Chapter 5, whether there actually ever was a pirate state on the island of Madagascar in the seventeenth century, or whether this only existed in Daniel Defoe's imagination – or, in this case, whether Defoe actually was the author – may well be seen as irrelevant for the history of ideas. In either case, it seems to have contributed important concepts towards the development of libertarian philosophy.

Although dubious in terms of traditional approaches to historical fact, these three examples can be seen as containing a 'narrative truth', corresponding to the subjectively psychological/emotional truth, which, in psychoanalysis is given precedence over what may – or may not! – be the 'actual historical truth'. Similarly, Freud stated, 'What we give out as being scientific truth is only the product of our needs as they are bound to find utterance under changing external conditions' (1933: 175). Efforts to hold on to traditional concepts may be understood as attempts to control a reality that refuses to be controlled, an attitude that more rightfully belongs to the scientific optimism of the nineteenth century. Today, fiction – referred to as poetry by Jacobitti – needs to be taken seriously by historians:

it can no longer be diminished as 'Clio's flighty little sister who has all the fun and none of the responsibility' (Schama, 2015). Yet, it is an uneasy relationship – historian Schama considers 'From fact to friction' (ibid.) – as 'the frontier between the literature of fact and the literature of fiction is open, unmarked' (Ash, 2009: 392). The term 'literature of fact' has been proposed: 'history as storytelling, as literature, must reclaim the ground it has lost to history as science, or pseudoscience' (ibid.: 392–3), in 'the attempt – the desperate attempt – to detach the search for knowledge from the service of tyranny' (Arthur, 2004: 310). Importantly, this does not imply a move to the opposite extreme of 'Only the subjective is the truly objective', as Woody Allen humorously claimed (1975). However, corresponding to Winnicott's famous statement that 'there is no such thing as a baby' (1952: 99), meaning that no baby can exist without there being a mother, there also is no such thing as an objective historical fact without the context of a subjective source: 'Everything factual is already theory', Benjamin quoted from Goethe (in Eiland and Jennings, 2014: 272). 'Even the most ascetic' historian – in the sense of one striving for objectivity with fundamentalist fervour – 'depends upon the witnesses who make the first record of the past. If they do not make a record, there is no history [. . .] *Homage to Catalonia* is a model of this kind of veracity' (Ash, 1999: xi, xvii). Here, Orwell warned:

> In case I have not said this somewhere earlier in the book I will say it now: beware of my partisanship, my mistakes of fact, and the distortion inevitably caused by my having seen only one corner of events. And beware of exactly the same things when you read any other book. (Orwell, 1938)

In other words, as Foucault observed, 'Nietzsche [. . .] showed us the importance of always asking of a text "Who is speaking?" (who – from what historical position, with what particular interests?)' (in Gutting, 2005: 12).

The impossibility of clearly differentiating between subjectivity and objectivity, narrative truth and historical truth, can be related to current neuroscientific perspectives, which state that 'all cognition is affectively directed and motivated, often invisibly in a way that promotes the illusion of cognitive autonomy from emotion' (Panksepp and Watt, 2003). This, in turn, resonates with one of the core implications of Gross's linking the personal and the political – and, of course, Jung's later elaboration of this idea (see Chapter 3).

Ash's above statement of, effectively, 'no memory, no history' confirms history as the daughter of memory. However, memory constantly changes, as it 'has evolved not to retain the past but to reimagine it, so as to imagine a better future' (Robinson, 2012). Currently, neuroscientists are discovering a physiological basis for Jacobitti's 'composing useful pasts' (2000): 'Every time we recall a memory, new proteins are made and the epigenetic markers will alter – changing it in subtle ways' (Young, 2012).

> [M]emory researchers [. . .] now [. . .] believe that human memory didn't evolve so that we could remember but to allow us to imagine what might

> be. [. . .] Every time we think about a possible future, we tear up the pages of our autobiographies and stitch together the fragments into a montage that represents a new scenario. This process is the key to foresight and ingenuity, but it comes at the cost of accuracy, as our recollections become frayed and shuffled along the way. 'It's not surprising that we confuse memories and imagination, considering they share so many processes,' says Daniel Schacter, a psychologist at Harvard. (Robson, 2012)

This dilemma informed the very roots of psychoanalysis, with Freud deciding to regard his patients' memories of childhood abuse as wishful fantasies (see Masson, 1985). This gives rise to the question as to what extent Freud's own sexual abuse by his father might have played a role in this. A similar issue arose later between Jung and Gross (see Chapter 3.). For Benjamin, 'True objectivity [. . .] depends on the dialectic of subject and object, individual and collective' (Eiland and Jennings, 2014: 272). He suggested, 'Only he, who, by decision, has made his dialectical peace with the world can grasp the concrete. But someone who wishes to decide "on the basis of facts" will find no basis in these facts' (Benjamin, in ibid.). 'The only way that history can be rescued from "knowledge" or "truth" is to recognize it as political argument, a politicization of the past' (Jacobitti, 2000: 29). Michel Foucault (1926–84) considered a dialectic relationship: 'I believe history can be useful for political activism, as vice versa can political activism be useful for history' (in Götz v. Olenhusen, 2015: 70).

In accordance with C.G. Jung's statement that 'every psychological theory should be criticized in the first instance as a subjective confession' (1934: 540), any serious engagement with the work of an other necessitates a consideration of the life of its author, at least in relevant aspects. Jungian writer Pinkola Estés spoke of '*soul-to-soul resuscitation'* (2011: 362). In *The Presence of the Past* (1989), biologist Rupert Sheldrake proposed the existence of what he calls 'morphogenic fields' which he saw as the basic fabric within which 'morphic resonance' between organisms occurs, independent of space and time (ibid.: 106–10). Like Romanyshyn, writer Nuala O'Faolain implied a trans-historical, intersubjective relationship between biographer and subject: 'Orthodox biographers' – [and, I might add, most historians] – 'never talk about their personal reasons for embarking on such-and-such a piece of work. They present themselves as pure mind' (2005: 8). Concurring with these various attempts to grasp and define the existence of a trans-historical, intersubjectively uniting energy-field, my own life-experience then plays an important role in my relating to Gross. Following 'Ackroyd, in his biography of Dickens [2003], and Taylor in his biography of Thackeray [2011]' in employing imaginary dialogue as well as dreams, in Chapter 2, I shall link 'autobiography, biography, fact and fiction' (Byatt, 2000: 10) by including aspects of my own biography in relation to Gross.

In addition, neuroscientists are speaking of a dialectic interrelationship between the stories we tell ourselves and the ways they shape the biological structure of our brain. And when we are unwell individually, we use 'the talking cure' – or,

'rather the *communicating* cure' (Schore and Schore, 2008: 14) – when we are unwell collectively, we use history for the very same purpose.

But we do not just create ourselves only through stories. An important Buddhist text from about the third century BCE begins 'With our thoughts we create the world' (in Freke, 2012: 268). The academic Ervin Laszlo links mind and matter with Jung's concept of the collective unconscious (2004: 105). Laszlo uses the term 'Akashic Field', defined as 'a super dense energy field [. . .] the holographic memory of the universe' (ibid.: 56). Stephen Hawking concurs: 'We create history much more with our observation than history creates us' (Hawking and Mlodinov, 2010: 140). In Theosophy, the term 'Akashic Record' denotes an ethereal compendium of all knowledge and history, thus adding the dimension of time. Hawking 'consider[s] [. . .] the backwards-in-time aspect of quantum observations: that what we choose to observe today helps to shape the nature of the universe in the remote past' (Davies, 2007: 291). Strikingly, in the Tuvan language – of the Asian Republic of Tuva – the word for going back *and* the future, *songgaar*, is one and the same, as is the term for going forward/the past, *burungaar* (Rymer, 2012: 65).

The theoretical physicist John Archibald Wheeler (1911–2008), concurring with an observer-created reality, coined the term 'Participatory Anthropic Principle': 'We are participators in bringing into being not only the near and here but the far away and long ago. We are, in this sense, participators in bringing about something of the universe in the distant past' (Wheeler, 2006). (As early as 1943, C.G. Jung had stated, 'Consciousness [. . .] is really the world. Without consciousness, nothing exists. The world had really been nothing at all, until somebody said: that is the world; that *is*' (2015: 86).) Wheeler based his claim on discoveries in the subatomic quantum world, where effects have been found to precede causes. In his 1988 paper 'A world with retroactive causes', physicist Dick Bierman argued that even in the macro world, 'there is empirical evidence that effects can precede causes' (in Picknet and Prince, 2011: 308). Experimentally, this is achieved by what is called 'time entanglement', the discovery that quantum particles 'influence each other regardless of how far apart they are' (Ananthaswamy, 2012).

Particle physics reveals that the entire universe, as we currently understand it, is *relational*, with every particle interconnected and interrelating with every other. Biologists tell us that we exist within a web of interconnected systems, each of which affects the other (Silf, 2001: 25).

The same principle applies to particles separated in time: it is thus possible that 'the future photon [particle], which is not born, is strongly influenced by a photon that is already dead' (von Zanthier, in Ananthaswamy, 2012). Physicist Paul Davies makes the point that whereas scientists are happy to explore ideas of backward causation and instantaneous communication between unconnected particles, 'it is only when the end state involves life and mind that most scientists take fright and bale out' (Picknet and Prince, 2011: 309).

However, what Wheeler et al. are working out in physics is nothing less than the scientific basis not only of a reversal of causation, but also, inherent in this,

of the flow of time – thus reaching towards the root-source of creation per se, in both its physical and metaphysical sense. This includes artistic creation – as the artist Anselm Kiefer, in *Remembering the Future*, recently stated 'History is a material [. . .]. It's like clay [. . .] You can form it as you want' (in Yentob, 2014). He conceptualized his creative work as 'connect[ing] things in the world in a different way' (ibid.). Jacobitti's 'creating useful pasts' (2000) may actually be taken literally: historians no longer attempt to 're-create' the past in the present, but actually create it.

What remains after this brief historiography of history? That 'History is story first and fact later [. . .]. The historical "facts" may be but fantasies [. . .] behind them are experiences, psychological realities' (Hillman, 1979: 6). Therefore, 'What we read as history is really the creation of a myth' (Chopra, 2004: 17). With this perspective, historiography as the history of history has come full circle, as it began with story-telling: 'Once upon a time . . . '. Some thirty years ago, in *Mythistory, or Truth, Myth, History, and Historians* (1986), historian William McNeill coined the term 'mythistory': 'A myth is a fiction that gives us the facts' (Vickers, 2007).

This resonates with C.G. Jung, for whom 'External change in historical time [. . .] is ultimately an erroneous conception. "Authentic historical change occurs in unconscious time", for the unconscious *is* the true reality' (Lu, 2011: 17):

> When we look at human history, we see only what happens on the surface, and even this is distorted in the faded mirror of tradition. But what is really happening eludes the inquiring eye of the historian, for the true historical event lies deeply buried [. . .]. It is the most private and most subjective of psychic experiences [. . .]. Perhaps the founders of religions give us the most in this regard [. . .]. In the last analysis, the essential thing is the life of the individual. This alone makes history, here alone do the great transformations first take place, and the whole future, the whole history of the world, ultimately springs as a gigantic summation from these hidden sources in individuals. In our most private and most subjective lives we are not only the passive witness of our age, and its sufferers, but also its makers. We make our own epoch. (Jung, 1934a: 148–9)

To summarize: my method involves a critical diagnostic phase, aimed at clarifying the problematic and damaging aspects of historical events which have been suppressed. Beyond this, however, the purpose is redemptive. In bringing to light and clarifying discarded history, I envisage a retroactive healing effect which releases all figures involved in traumatic and traumatizing history. This approach is inspired by the one employed by Tutu and colleagues in the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, where victim and perpetrator came together to establish and face suppressed facts. The overall intention was towards healing memory, rather than punishment. A trans-historical methodology is needed to attempt a similar process for Gross and his father, as well as his co-actors Freud,

Jung, and their followers in the drama of early psychoanalysis. This study brings them together for a trans-historic redemptive purpose which unfolds irrespective of time. In moving 'from deconstruction to reconstruction' (Epstein 1997), my approach implies a post-postmodern conceptual frame.

A note on style

The ideas explored above are reflected in my style of writing: form and content mirror each other. Considering the wealth of multiple interrelations in a perceived multiverse, this feels like sailing on the edge of chaos: innumerable thoughts and feelings interacting with unlimited realities whilst being an integral part of it. From a psychoanalytic perspective, my style is grounded in the dynamic associative flow of thoughts/ideas and images in the activities of the psyche. Freud derived from this his 'fundamental' or 'basic rule' of psychoanalysis after discovering that these often seemingly meaningless elements not only are meaningful, but actually create meaning. Philosophically, this corresponds to Benjamin, who 'was rather proud of his writing strategy, the creation of a text composed "almost entirely of quotations [. . .] the craziest mosaic technique imaginable" [1994: 256]' (Eiland and Jennings, 2014: 217). Artistically, this collagist style relates to that invented during the Great War by Hannah Höch (1889–1978) and Raoul Hausmann (1886–1971), members of the Berlin Dadaists, whom Gross was closely involved with: initially disparate elements are juxtaposed and create meaning through their interrelating, a process, on which essentially every word and text, each film depends. Following the Dadaists, the Surrealists developed the concepts of the *objet trouvé* and ready-made. Susan Sontag, who suggested that Benjamin's 'style of thinking and writing [. . .] might better be called freeze-frame baroque' (1983: 129), concluded her *On Photography* (1977) with an 'Anthology of Quotations, [in] (Homage to 'W[alter] B[enjamin])' (ibid.: 181–207). Benjamin's technique also influenced Walter Kempowski (1929–2007), one of the most important German writers of the post-war era, in his monumental, multi-volume historical work *Das Echolot* (1999), the German term for an echo depth sounder. Kempowski employed this term metaphorically to describe his experience of recording, registering and collecting a multitude of different voices from the past. However, one author preceding both Benjamin and Kempowski in this respect, is Herman Melville (1819–91) who began his *Moby Dick* with some ten pages of a collage of what he calls 'Extracts' (1950: xxii ff.). For the beginning of this chapter – as well as Chapter 7 – I have taken my cue directly from him to introduce my own exploration of history, historians and their comments on the mystery of the past to set the scene for my present contribution to approach this unfathomable other, and to move historiography towards the future. Aware of the dialectics between self and other as the central concern of Otto Gross, in my own relating to those two ultimately unknowable 'others' that are the focus of this book – time, perceived trans-historically as past/present/future, and, of course, Gross himself – I use the afore mentioned chorus of many voices to approach both time and Gross respectively in an amplificatory,

circumambulatory manner to arrive at an inclusive and pluralistic perspective. My style is thus informed by and based on contributions to psychoanalysis and politics which Gross initiated, creating an elliptical arc of thought which trans-historically reaches into the past in order to point to the future. Of course, this results in a bulky bibliography.

Listening to those many voices, and giving them opportunity and space to speak, manifests in my delight in quotations which I use frequently: for me, they are the souvenirs, the fruits of moments of suddenly discovering the hitherto unknown – and yet immediately familiar – aspects of myself in an other. They are more than a meeting of minds: hearts and souls are involved, too, in these instances where I find myself in the other. For me, these 'moments of meeting' (Boston Change Process Study Group, 2010) also have a numinous aspect, as the writer Arthur Koestler (1905–83) – in the early 1930s a member of the same communist cell as Wilhelm Reich – implied by claiming 'his own "library angel", his term for all those otherwise inexplicable moments in a researcher's life when a book or a passage appears, as if out of nowhere, to provide the next insight' (Kripal, 2007: 15). Considering the acts of writing and reading as a dialectic dialogue between author and reader, psychoanalyst/philosopher Pierre Bayard saw the purpose for the author not only in 'the possibility of self-discovery', but to 'place [the reader] at the heart of the creative process [. . .] [and] to be present at the birth of the creative subject' (2007: 180):

For Gross, such 'inaugural moment[s]' (ibid.), which invoke the numinous, are those which constitute 'relationship as third, as religion' (Gross, 1913c). Benjamin calls these 'Messianic'. Like the fingertips of God and Adam *just* about to touch in Michelangelo's fresco,

> the best moments in reading are when you come across something – a thought, a feeling, a way of looking at things – which you had thought special and particular to you. Now you have it, set down by someone else, a person you have never met, someone who is long dead. And it is as if a hand has come out and taken yours. (Bennett, 2004: 56)

Thus quotations are portals through which the sacred has entered, touchstones that ignite a spark which then gathers a creative momentum of its own. In quoting the words of an other, I am sharing such 'moments of meeting', passing on the spark like a torch which has enlightened my heart and soul – *and* honouring the co-creating other in these interrelations. This latter aspect also links with another issue: integrity. Engaging with Gross, whose work and contributions to psychoanalytic theory and clinical practice have been both suppressed and stolen from without proper acknowledgement – as Kuh observed – it would seem particularly inappropriate not to acknowledge the fruits of other researchers and scholars. Aware that 'historians [. . .] work in a time when readers know that another narrative always lies in wait' (Tóibín, 2013), each quotation constitutes a fragment of such an alternative.

A note on ethics

To conclude this introduction of my methodological approach, and in view of Otto Gross's life-long concern with ethics, some reflections on ethics.

Journalist and biographer Janet Malcolm declared:

> Every journalist who is not too stupid or full of himself to notice what is going on knows that what he does is morally indefensible. He is a kind of confidence man, preying on people's vanity, ignorance, or loneliness, gaining their trust and betraying them without remorse. (1990: 3)

And 'The biographer at work [. . .] is like the professional burglar, breaking into a house, rifling through certain drawers that he has good reason to think contain the jewelry and money, and triumphantly bearing his loot away' (Malcolm, 1993: 86).

Humorously, historian Antony Beevor has suggested 'a mischief of historians' (2009: 526) as a plural noun for historians. Yet in the current era of a continuously increasing erosion of privacy – in which psychoanalysis played a not unimportant role – the issue is more serious than Beevor suggests: Janet Malcolm's '*J'accuse*' applies not just to journalists and biographers, but to historians, too. Their task, in turn, is almost identical with that of the psychoanalyst, which Freud called 'impossible' (1937: 248). Certainly, one aspect of what makes their work impossible, is intrinsic to the process of healing: used in a different way or dosage, that which heals may well poison and/or wound. The warlike vocabulary developed in analysis – resistance, projection, defence, penetrating interpretation, etc., etc. – clearly expresses a problematic underlying sensibility (B. Heuer, 2015). However, how can healing occur without inspecting, maybe even touching, the wound, however gently and caringly? Again, this applies to both psychoanalysis as well as the healing – and making – of history. In either engagement, be that with an other in analysis, or with a person or a whole period of the past, Emmanuel Levinas's (1906–95) concept that meeting the other implies an immediate responsibility for her/him is essential. However, where is the boundary between uncovering a potentially personally intimate area with the intention to heal on the one hand, and prurient voyeurism on the other? This gives ethical concerns a crucial importance. Unlike Freud, Jung, Reich, and their respective heirs, Gross did not issue an injunction to keep any of his personal documents out of the public domain for a limited or unlimited time. Nor did he, like Freud in 1885, referring to future biographers,

> destroy [. . .] all my notes of the last fourteen years, as well as letters, scientific extracts, and manuscripts of my works [. . .] an undertaking which a number of people, still unborn but fated to misfortune, will feel severely. (In Gay, 1988: xv)

Apparently, this was something Freud periodically carried out.

Looking back over the decades of my research, I am aware of earlier idealizations, of having turned a blind eye to some of the sinister aspects of Gross's shadow side. Without condoning such a blinkered perspective, I now find it understandable: analytically, a kind of parallel process took place which linked aspects of Gross's internal splitting – i.e. banning whatever is unbearable from conscious awareness – with mine. A similar dynamic has been observed between Jung and his followers (Spillmann and Strubel, 2010). As with Jung, I understand the degree of Gross's splitting as a result of early deprivation and cumulative relational traumata, a measure of their severity. Yet in contrast to how Jung's shadow parts have predominantly been handled by heirs and followers, I believe it to be counterproductive to try and hide the dark aspects of Gross's life and work. Hence I consider it my ethical responsibility to try and walk the impossibly narrow path between what needs to be uncovered in the service of the truth the way I see it on one side, and respect for privacy on the other.

Unlike Freud and Jung, Gross does not have a community of followers keen to protect his image, or descendants who have the means and the might to do this. Therefore, we know more about him than about most other early analysts. This calls for a particular ethical responsibility. For example: does it really enhance our understanding of Freud to know what his maid saw and felt when she surprised him standing naked in the shower? (I am intentionally not giving a reference here.) Correspondingly, do we have any right – or genuine need – to know how early traumata suffered by Gross and Spielrein shaped their respective sexual desires and practises, or what Gross's friend Erich Mühsam (1878–1934) entrusted to his diary after a night of love-making? What does it say about historical research that Gross's love letters were translated into English, and published, decades before any of his psychoanalytic writings? Regrettably, I was involved myself in publishing for the first time the second collection of love letters, naïvely not thinking further than that they were accessible anyway in a public archive (Gross and Jaffé, 1998). The same is true for the treatment records of Gross's various analyses – he had more analyses than any other of psychoanalysis's founders – and psychiatric assessments and treatments. How ethical is it to quote from these sources? What about doctor/patient-confidentiality? On the occasion of being interviewed by John Freeman in 1959, C.G. Jung impeccably adhered to ethics: concerning his and Freud's mutual dream-interpretations, he was asked about 'significant features' of Freud's dreams, and replied, 'Well, that is rather indiscreet to ask. You know, I have – there is such a thing as professional secret.' Freeman says encouragingly, 'He's been dead these many years', to which Jung responds, 'Yes, but these regards last longer than life. (Pause) I prefer not to talk about it' (Jung and Freeman, 1980: 387). Should such ethics not also apply to the biographer and their subject? From the perspective of current psychoanalytic ethics, it is unethical to analyse anyone who has not requested this. In my present study of Gross's work and life, for the reasons outlined, I have not consistently been able to adhere to these boundaries.

Note

1 Parker, 2001.

2

AUTHOR AND SUBJECT

FIGURE 4 Ernst Barlach: *Männerstolz vor Königsthronen* – Men's Pride Facing Kings' Thrones', 1924/25. Charcoal, 32 x 48 cm. © Otto Gross Archive / Gottfried M. Heuer, London.

> You entered form to give a holy message.
> An envoy from the inconceivable
> is each of us.
>
> *Hafiz (fourteenth century), 2010: 284*

> Every portrait that is painted with feeling is a portrait of the artist, not of the sitter.
>
> *Oscar Wilde, 1891a*

> As soon as the dialogue between two people touches on something fundamental, essential, and numinous, and a certain rapport is felt, it gives rise to a phenomenon which Lévy-Bruhl fittingly called *participation mystique*. It is an unconscious identity in which two individual psychic spheres interpenetrate to such a degree that it is impossible to say what belongs to whom.
>
> *C.G. Jung, 1958: 452*

1.

'Men's Pride Facing Kings' Thrones' (Schult, 1971: 219) is the title of the 1924/25 drawing by the Expressionist artist Ernst Barlach (1870–1938), which hangs on the wall of the room where I am born in northern Germany just months before the end of the Second World War: 'Out there it's the end of the world, whilst in the next room our son is being born' (A. Heuer, 1944–47: 16), my father documents in the diary he keeps for me. Like an omen, the theme of conflict with authority is right there in my life from the very start – a close link to the core issue of Otto Gross's life and work:

> It is a fact that we historians are interested in what is partly a reflection of ourselves we would rather not examine except through the medium of scholarship; it is also true that as we steep ourselves in our interests, they become more and more part of us. (Kostova, 2005: 239)

Having focused in the previous chapter on the theoretical foundations of my trans-historical intersubjective methodology of research, in this chapter I am applying what I have theoretically postulated: I am describing how key themes and core issues of my own life interrelate with corresponding ones in that of Otto Gross, common issues which spark interests and create mutual attractions, elective affinities. I envision us like two characters in a play extending over time, interacting in ways meaningful to both. In this, I understand my choice of subject as mutual: I have chosen to engage with Gross as much as he has chosen me – for that very purpose of mutually changing each other to heal and individuate. Aware that our dialectic interrelating has contributed to this in my life, and continues to do so, I trust that, together, we have achieved the same for him.

Following my clinical practice, where patients and I usually use first names, in this chapter it feels occasionally appropriate to speak of Otto, rather than Gross. So, in O'Faolain's words, quoted in the previous chapter, the following are my 'personal reasons for embarking' on the current 'piece of work' (2005: 8): this is where I come from.

Memories as many as there are stars in the sky – where do I begin? How do I 'draw the constellations'? I *am* my history, and, here, my own historian. Yet again, an impossible task: a question of choice, as only my choices can create meaning. What are the aspects in and of myself that cause me to experience Otto as a soul- or even 'twin brother' (Freud and Jung, 1974: 156)? How *do* I, in charting our relating, 'construct a useful past' (Jacobitti, 2000)? Or, more precisely, which of the details of my past are useful here, interlinking with Otto's past – especially in a study of his work which does not primarily focus on his biography? Just as we experience the past trans-historically, and due to the multi-dimensionality of the web of memories and their dialectical interrelatedness, the following presents itself not always in a linear chrono-'logical' sequence.

To return to the beginning, my birth: there is, of course, much more than just the authority issue: there is also, in my father's voice, the 'end of the world' – the very same words, as mentioned in the Introduction, used for the time in which Otto lived. Less than seventy years lie between his birth and mine – the age I am now. Collectively, those intermediate years were a period of upheaval and change: on the positive side, among many other issues, the end of patriarchal imperial rule in both Austria and Germany, the birth of the women's movement, gay liberation, revolutions, while on the negative, two world wars (in the European perspective), Nazi rule uniting our two countries, the Shoah . . . As Gross was the first to conceptualize, the political is both identical with the personal, and, simultaneously, there is a mutually transformative dialectic interrelating between the two. He was born at the beginning of this period, I at the end; he in the south-eastern corner of central Europe, I in its north. The seventy-year age-difference creates a generational confusion: born only six years before my father, Otto and he are of one generation. Both served in the Great War. Thus my searching for and inter-relating with Otto also includes aspects of hoping to connect more intimately with my father who died when I was but a toddler: my project is not only a closer relating with those two deceased, it is also a self-exploration.

Can you imagine my feelings – I burst into tears – when I discovered in one of my father's old notebooks from the time he was studying in Munich in 1908, that he then lived at Türkenstrasse 98, diagonally across the street from No. 81, which, during those years, was the address of Erich Mühsam, Gross's friend who initiated him to anarchist politics, a place Gross frequently visited, and where he also stayed for periods of time? My father *must* have passed them in the street, seen them – and they him!

Reflecting on those tears, these emotional thoughts are resonating deeply: 'The souls of all the dead are alive [. . .], pulsating actively around you' (Lawrence, 1956: 166), and, 'the dead [. . .] possess a singular form of existence and continue

to mingle with the living' (Bayard, 2008: 188). These notions link with moments in my practice where I might suggest a patient dialogue with a deceased loved one, often evoking tears in both of us. Sometimes a similar dialogue occurs in me – alone, or with an other – and I have come to understand the tears which may then well up, or in other moments of intimacy with someone dead or alive, as my bodily reaction to the presence of the holy: 'holy' experienced here in the sense in which Gross early on perceived relating and spirituality as being interlinked, and later spoke of relationship 'as third, as religion' (1913c; see Heuer, 2011). These are instances of meeting on a very profound level, 'Messianic' moments where love replaces fear; God being love (1 John 4:8), of love igniting and thus uniting, referred to by Christ in 'Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there I am in the midst of them' (Matt. 18:20).

Of course, I did not begin with my birth, and what came before is also relevant here. I was conceived in the spring of 1944, when the Second World War was in its fifth year, and the disaster of Nazi rule was hurtling towards its catastrophic finale. After two sons, my parents hoped for a daughter whom they were going to name Maria. This is important in the present context in terms of an at least implicit presence of the feminine. I grew in my mother's womb during times of frequent bombing raids, truly under the threat of an end of the world, and was born in the midst of this, not a girl, but a boy, and my parents named me Gottfried, meaning god-peace, the peace of God. From today's perspective, Lear's term 'radical hope', mentioned previously, springs to mind, as 'ethics in the face of cultural devastation' (Lear, 2008): as I write, I am aware that the world of Nazi Germany *was* 'cultural devastation' in itself. 'Radical hope' is the confidence in Martin Luther's 'If I knew the world was to perish tomorrow, I would still plant an apple-tree today' (Anon., n.d.). This gift of radical hope, alive in my conception, was implied in my name and given to me together with my life, for which I feel deeply grateful. I sense a kindred hope inspired Otto to not succumb to those powers aiming for his personal as well as collective devastation, and to go on promoting positive transformation as long as he lived. In honour of my parents' hope and expectation for a daughter, and to explicitly honour the feminine, for some years now, I have used 'Maria' as my middle name.

External circumstances notwithstanding, Otto and I share a father-wound: I grew up without a father, although in many ways two brothers, some fifteen years older, took over his role. After they moved from home, I was left an only child, loved and spoilt by my mother – within the limits set by what I now see as her narcissism, owing to her own early emotional deprivation. In this narcissistic conditioning, I could not be seen either, and so got lost to myself in such inherited lack of love. Otto similarly suffered from what appears to have been an emotionally absent mother, and an overpowering father, intent on controlling Otto's life. Biographical and generational differences do not alter what we have in common: I was surprised to hear myself recently saying to a friend, 'I come from a violent family.' Like Otto, I was born into the male world of a patriarchal family where the feminine was denigrated and violence valued. How else could my father have mused in the very first

moments of seeing the newly-born me, 'I can already see this strapping boy giving all the boys in our street a good hiding' (A. Heuer, 1944–47: 19)?

Conspicuous by its absence in Barlach's drawing beneath which I was born, is the feminine principle (as I defined my use of the term in the Introduction) and the values traditionally linked to it, that is, relating, yielding, feeling – and loving. Emotionally, Otto's childhood experience seems to have been similar. I believe he was speaking from painful experience when he movingly writes about the baby whose inborn longing to be loved is met with parental rejection of his own unique self, and, instead, is offered love only under the condition that he becomes like the parents – or else must suffer the traumatic terror of isolation and loneliness (1914: 266). Frequently, Gross's writing focuses not only on relating, but its opposite, loneliness (e.g. 1920: 288). For both of us, longing to relate emerged as *the* key issue: a longing for intimacy and love, relating to the feminine, in an attempt to heal the narcissistic wound of early emotional rejection and abandonment.

Tragically, the power of these longings can have a destructive effect on relating, a parallel in both Otto's life and mine. In 1907, when he was thirty years old, his lover Else Jaffé reproached him:

> Frieda [Otto's wife] was quite right when she said to me [. . .] 'Don't you see that [of Otto] must be said, 'He who is not for me is against me.' [. . .] Now, of course one can imagine that a wife renounces her personal needs in love and [. . .] makes every sacrifice to remain next to him in whose goals she completely believes. But what if she cannot <u>completely</u> believe, Otto? (Gross and Jaffé, 1998: 143)

Quite similarly, in my early twenties, reflecting on our relationship she had ended in a way painful for me, a girlfriend told me, 'You know, for me it was as if I only had one choice: to be there for you totally, and in that to completely abandon myself – or to separate from you. There didn't seem to be anything in-between those two extremes.'

I was in my forties – an age Otto never reached – before I began to become consciously aware of my early wounding. I remember the moment my analyst used the term 'abandonment' early on in my training analysis – and my responding with 'That's not part of my vocabulary': I see a correspondence between what I retrospectively understand as my own need to split off experience of early deprivational trauma for more than four decades, and Otto's life-long drug addiction, an attempt to continuously numb the otherwise unbearable pain of his own early relational deprivation. A direct link has been made between maternal deprivation and addiction: 'the addictive appetite returns us to a milky paradise that has [. . .] either been lost, or never really found' (Winship, 2012: 22). Missing from this maternally centred understanding of the constant craving of the addictive personality is, in Jung's – or Gross's? (see Chapter 3) – words, 'The significance of the father in the destiny of the individual' (Jung, 1909a). I have mentioned my

own father-longings, and, at first glance, these seem to be completely absent from Gross's life. However, his lifelong financial dependency on his father certainly has a strong aspect of a need for continual paternal nourishment. Wilhelm Stekel was aware of this, when, in 1915, in the sexuality-focused psychoanalytic thinking of the time, he diagnosed 'a strong homosexual attitude' (1953: 31) in Gross's relationship with his father. Complementing the interpretation of oral longing for the breast, we can find the paternal longing symbolized in the phallic aspect of bottles, cigarettes, cigars and syringes. The cocaine and morphine Gross was addicted to throughout his life provided the equivalent of a parental holding he may never have experienced as a child – yet could write about in ways no other analyst was capable of at the time (see Chapter 3). I am thinking here in Winnicott's chillingly evocative terms of the unheld baby's experience of 'going to pieces', of '[f]alling forever' (1987: 22). The focusing effects of the drugs would have given Otto a sense of emotional and mental containment, of being held together: he stated, 'Every word I have written has been written under the influence of cocaine – I've never been able to write a single decent sentence without its effect' (in Berze and Stelzer, 1913: 26). As he seems to have needed cocaine in order to concentrate and focus, we might consider that Gross

> put the forces of intoxication (which, per se, work in an isolating, splitting way) at the service of the revolution [. . .]. Now, as far as we know, every revolution has an intoxicating component, which, by the way, is identical with its anarchistic one. (Benjamin, 1929: 1021, 1037)

Interestingly, like Gross, who saw mind and body as one, Benjamin, in this context, considered the identity of the personal and the political in a bodily sense of a revolutionary 'portraying the linking with the physiological and animalistic-human on the one hand, and with the political on the other' (ibid.: 1023).

In its longings for parental attention, the addictive personality is falling for the promise of any drug that will entail neither rejection nor abandonment, seduced by the promise of an end to loneliness, since the drug is available in seemingly paradisiacal abundance. Yet, tragically, addiction creates loneliness and isolation, the very opposite of what was hoped for: this is reflected in the way Gross's life ended (see Chapter 6). (Considering this, I am almost surprised at my finding a different path: 'There but for the grace of God . . . .') Of course I am aware that, today, I can avail myself of deeper psychological tools for self-reflection – in no small measure thanks to Gross's experiences and realizations – than the ones he was able to use, such as the insight that 'our pain doesn't come from the love we weren't given in the past, but from the love we ourselves aren't giving in the present' (Williamson, 1996: 128).

A further (self-)realization is the correspondence between external and internal relations: issues in one dimension reflect those in the other. Thus any numbing, splitting off, also means losing an important part of oneself: the other in the outer world corresponds to the other inside. As mentioned, from a male perspective, this other appears linked to the feminine principle: soul, psyche, unconscious, feelings,

body, the capacity per se to relate, receive, conceive and surrender. Gross saw this conflict between self and other as the core conflict of each individual, aware that, without inner relating to this other principle, the masculine degenerates in the direction of an exaggerated *machismo*, not only externally destructive, but also internally, in Gross's stark terms, 'the irrepressible drive to rape and be raped' (1914: 265; t.m.). Fears of the unknown other cause contempt, hatred and violence as 'weakness disguised as strength' (Tolle, 1999: 36). Indefensibly, C.G. Jung, for example, in this context suggested, 'Often the man has the feeling – and he is not altogether wrong – that only seduction or a thrashing or rape [of the woman] would have the necessary power of persuasion' (1950: 15; t.m.). In contrast to Jung's endorsing violence, Gross argued for the very opposite: to 'replac[e] [. . .] the will to power with the will to relating' (1919c: 355).

In Otto's life, this violent side was expressed in the self-destructiveness of his drug addiction. So, in Gross's just mentioned observation of the 'drive to rape and be raped', we may also assume an unconscious autobiographical aspect. In his external relationships, as mentioned, this found expression in the emotional callousness Gross often showed to friends and lovers, and also in his involvement in the suicide or death of several of the latter. Somewhat linked in terms of an emotional dissociation, I remember from my mid-twenties leaving the room whenever my then partner cried. This, I am glad to say, has changed: in a long and often painful process in both my marriage and my therapies, I have learnt and continue to learn about those shadow aspects which live in myself in the form of impulses and a readiness for emotional disregard of the other. Healing continues; for many years now, I have experienced a growing capacity to lovingly relate with empathy: early in 2015, I was teaching a seminar in which we discussed Jung's chilling endorsement of violence towards women (above), when suddenly my nose started bleeding. I felt as if I was weeping tears of blood from my heart, compassionately experiencing an empathic interrelatedness with those who suffered. In the process of learning to love, I am also learning to feel loved, to accept love for myself. Relating, in the all-encompassing sense of Gross's focus in his life and work, corresponds to the core of my endeavour, too, in my life, work and love – as in this book. In addition to my teachers mentioned so far, there is another important one I feel most grateful to: a black male cat who has been visiting me regularly every morning for well over a decade, to jump onto my lap and purr and sleep and dream there, as we meditate and pray. I can think of no more gracefully complete union of the masculine and the feminine in one being, which daily he gracefully allows me to partake of. (Like an angelic messenger, just as I am writing this, he chances into my study – to jump and curl up on my lap – and *purrr*.)

Having spoken of Otto's and my parental deprivations and longings, in the following I am sketching out what seems relevant here of my family background. My father, in rebellious reaction against his non-intellectual, non-artistic, small-town merchant-banker parental home, turned to art and literature. I know not much about his life before he met my mother. It must have been when he was studying in Munich, living just across from Otto and his friend, that his enthusiasm for modern art began, for German Expressionism in particular. Many of

Otto's friends, artists and writers, belonged to the same movement. My father seems to have been somewhat involved in the youth movement, as well as in the reform-school movement related to it, as were some of Gross's friends. Like Otto, he volunteered for the Great War, convinced somehow that he would not survive, as my mother told me later. After weeks on the Western Front, serious abdominal illness terminated his military service. He never spoke about the war, became a schoolmaster in a secondary school and, in mid-life, married a butcher's daughter in the late 1920s. He had initially met my mother, when he was 40 and she 15. Am I unkind to consider this difference in age and class as possibly an indication of his fear of the feminine? Dialoguing with my father in the way mentioned earlier, I perceive that he, too, would have liked to have expressed more of his feminine side, would have wanted to live a softer self, which painfully had to remain hidden away back then.

In the 1930s under the Nazi regime, my father was politically active in standing up as a teacher for the Expressionist artists whose works he loved and collected, and who were persecuted and judged 'degenerate' by the Nazis. From 1939 onwards, my father hid paintings by Emil Nolde (1867–1956) in more than a dozen large crates stored in an inconspicuous place, and thus saved the greater part of the artist's work from being seized and possibly destroyed (Voigt, 2007: 74; Adomat, 2015). Nolde's membership of the Nazi Party and his racism were either unknown in my family or ignored. In 1940, my father was denounced by the neighbour next door for some remarks seen as '*wehrkraftzersetzend*', erosive to the military power of the German Army. This led to several interrogations by the Gestapo, during which his views on the so-called 'degenerate art' also were questioned. Afterwards, my father told Nolde in a letter:

> I explained: 'I am no lackey. I will not break my loyalty to Nolde and Barlach which has united me with them for 25 years now. I also refuse to be influenced in <u>any</u> way <u>whatsoever</u> in questions of art and religion, and I am prepared to face the consequences. (A. Heuer, 1940)

A courageously lived example indeed of *Men's Pride Facing Kings' Thrones*! These interrogations only came to an end when my father eventually found himself opposite a former pupil of his, who sent him home with the caution that, although he was able to protect him for the moment, he was unable to guarantee anything for the time after the final victory which was imminent . . . .

For many years, I believed my family exaggerated the danger they were in at that time. I know now that people were murdered for lesser offences, that whole families were put into concentration camps. On the one hand, I feel deeply moved by and proud of my father's resistance – yet also puzzled: my father was not on his own. Was he not aware of the risk he also took for his wife and sons? Did that former pupil save the lives of all of us, including mine, before I was even conceived?

For over twenty years there had been a silence in Germany concerning its Nazi past, its war-crimes, the Shoah. When I finished school in 1965, history

lessons went no further than the Weimar Republic and the late 1920s. One of the achievements of the 1960s students' rebellion was to confront this silence: parents were asked, 'What did *you* do, then, under Hitler?' Sociologists have researched the question of what Germans knew of the Shoah. In *What We Knew. Terror, Mass Murder and Everyday Life in Nazi Germany* (Johnson and Reuband, 2005), the authors conclude that about one-third of the population did know, another third knew nothing, and a further third knew something. It appears that my family belonged to those who did not know: unimaginably for me, as my father was a teacher, the 1938 decree banning Jewish pupils from attending schools did not leave a memory trace in my family. I remember asking my oldest brother in disbelief, 'But there *must* have been occasions when a whole family would have disappeared from their home from one day to the next! Did you not wonder what had *happened* to them?!' 'You do not understand,' he replied, 'under the Nazis, you did not even *think* a question like that.' He remembers walking with my father just after the war, and, seeing a man limping on the other side of the street, my father commented, 'I think he has been in one of those camps – he *may* have been beaten there.' Knowing my brother as I do, I have no reason to disbelieve him – and yet, indeed I do not understand. When I was born, mass murder on an industrial scale was continuing in death camps not only in Eastern Europe, but scattered all over Germany/Austria, the nearest one less than a hundred miles away from Elmshorn, north-west of Hamburg, where I was born. In the winter of 1944/45 death marches of concentration camp prisoners continued from one camp to the next in an ever-shrinking Nazi territory. Auschwitz was only liberated when I was but one month old. And my family did not *know* – together with a whole *third* of the rest of the population?

After this, politics no longer played an overt role in my family. In my final year at school, my class staged Peter Weiss's play *The Persecution and Assassination of Jean-Paul Marat as Performed by the Inmates of the Asylum of Charenton Under the Direction of the Marquis de Sade* (1966), which had just premiered at the time. The subject of this drama is the Grossian theme of the dialectics between personal and political revolutionary change. My leading role stood for individual change. Having performed the play in the presence of the author when Weiss received an award at Hamburg University, I remember from the subsequent discussion asking him slightly exasperatedly, 'Does everything really *have* to be seen as political?!'

I moved to Berlin to avoid compulsory military service, from which, at that time, Berlin citizens were exempt, and I studied commercial graphic art. Art, and the love of it, is a further strong presence in the form of the Barlach drawing at the moment of my birth; and this has played a major role in my life: I have been drawing and painting as long as I can remember. Otto's love of art found his expression in the Expressionist and Dadaist artists he was involved with. In his case-notes, C.G. Jung recorded, Gross 'copies a photograph of Bismarck in an infantile manner onto the panelling. Makes very strange drawings of people and other things on packing paper [. . .] Paints the outside of his room's door with strange drawings' (in Hurwitz, 1979: 145–6).

Sadly, none of these have survived. Although I had friends at the art school who attended every demonstration, and although I heard about the murder of a student during one of them, and saw the leaflets my co-students were producing and distributing against the Vietnam War, I myself sat in my tiny student's abode creating graphic art. Only in the late 1960s was my politicization (again somewhat similar to Otto's) triggered by a growing awareness of the situation of women in our patriarchal society: my then partner suggested I read one of the key texts on the subject, titled 'Woman's cultural revolution' (Schrader-Klebert, 1969). Interestingly, the text begins with a quote by the French visionary socialist Charles Fourier (1772–1837), also an important influence on Gross's thinking. I was shocked and outraged – just as Otto was. Like him, I saw the effects of patriarchy primarily externally in society. The extent to which I embodied the system myself only gradually dawned on me in the course of my research on Gross: already, a hundred years ago, he had observed that all previous revolutions 'foundered because the revolutionary [. . .] had been carrying [. . .] [the authoritarian structure] within himself' (1913d: 80).

Together with my partner, I started to become interested in psychology. We read about the plight of the child in the patriarchal family, and devoured everything that was available by Wilhelm Reich. The difficulties in our relationship made us aware that we needed to link individual with political change. Like Gross, we discussed what we were learning in student groups and taught blue- and white-collar apprentices. In an anarchist journal we published our artwork and our ideas, for example 'Change life. Change the world' (Harders and Heuer, 1973). Working on this journal, I first 'met' Otto Gross over forty years ago through an anarchist friend who mentioned his name. I was intrigued, fascinated. As with the initial crush when we fall in love, projections, idealizations, identifications must have played their roles: being a 'fan', from Latin *fanaticus,* means not just 'mad, enthusiastic', but also 'inspired by god' . . . .

Like Gross, 'dissatisfied with the existing social order' (1914a: 75) in our fatherland, my partner and I emigrated to London in the early 1970s. Sixty years earlier, interned in a psychiatric institution against his will, Gross had protested in a letter he had succeeded in smuggling out and published:

> One more thing is held against me: that I am dissatisfied with the existing social order. Whether this can be considered as proof of mental disturbance depends upon how one establishes the norm of mental health. If we accept adaptation to what exists as normal, then we can interpret dissatisfaction with present conditions as a sign of mental disturbance. If we take as our norm the highest unfolding of all inborn human potentialities, and if we know intuitively and from experience that the existing social order makes it impossible to achieve the highest possible development of the individual and of humanity, then we shall recognise satisfaction with present conditions as below par. (1914a: 75–6)

Emotionally and politically, Germany had become unbearable for us: we just wanted to get away. The students' revolution had not yielded the results so passionately longed for; we had been convinced that fundamental revolutionary change was realistically imminent – a situation maybe comparable to that after the failed German revolution of 1918/19. Gross's repeatedly declaring his work and that of his friends and comrades as 'preparatory for the revolution' seems to express a similar expectation of a success within reach. It makes sense to believe the quashing of these hopes contributed to Gross's early death. In the early 1970s, many of our friends became either resigned, joined the Communist Party – not much difference between those two, we thought – and a minority drifted towards urban terrorism, also no option for us. In addition, as in the 1920s, there was a backlash: laws, such as the infamous *Berufsverbot*, literally 'professional-prohibition', made it impossible for students who had been involved in radical politics to become civil servants. As we had been studying to become teachers, we therefore used the surnames of our respective grandparents as pseudonyms for a book with my political drawings which was published by an anarchist publisher (Hell and Hartkopf, 1974). Emergency laws were passed in response to what was portrayed as a 'terrorist threat to the whole country' – posed by a mere dozen or so militants, some of whom were shot dead in the streets by anti-terrorist police. Paranoid fears spread of a return to Nazi rule.

Although Reich's early works had become highly popular in Germany in the course of the students' rebellion, body-psychotherapy did then not exist there. In London, my partner's and my attempts – 'in a rather Grossian way' – to replace loving intimacy by denouncing the pain of abandonment and jealous feelings as 'bourgeois claims to property', and therefore trying to ignore them, were doomed to failure. We wanted to experience Reichian therapy, and became involved in the leaderless, autonomous 'Red Therapy' group. But I also felt I needed individual work, and went to see Gerda Boyesen. (I have spoken about her specific therapeutic approach in the previous chapter.) Our initial meeting became a turning point in my life: yes, I could see her for therapy-sessions – but had I ever considered becoming a therapist myself? I was speechless: I certainly never ever had. Within weeks, I was not only her patient, but also a candidate in her training group in Biodynamic body-psychotherapy: I had found my vocation.

During the 1970s and '80s, I had largely buried any political aspirations: individual change was my main focus. Yet I had my first experience of independent professional work in the building complex of an abandoned Vienna slaughter-house, St. Marx, which had been occupied by protesters; with Peter Eedy, an Australian friend and colleague, I had been invited to bring body-psychotherapy back to where it had originated with Reich's work in the late 1920s.

In the years following, I travelled around the world in search of paradise – maybe a South Sea island? – with a different partner. Our search was in vain: we separated, and each returned to London. But instead of a geographical place I shortly afterwards felt I did find paradise in meeting my future wife, Birgit, love

of my life. We christened our house 'Paradise Now!'. Just then, I discovered Emanuel Hurwitz's *Otto Gross. Seeker-of-Paradise* (1979); sometimes

> when you're [. . .] reading a book about a person who's died, you suddenly find that [. . .] the problems of the nature of being which you had thought were your personal problems, and maybe the problems of your very best friend, have afflicted at least one other human being before you. And his life and your life then meld together in the most remarkable way, so that afterwards it seems there has never been life without him. (Arthur, 2004: 65)

This was just how I felt about Gross. And I thought, '*One* day I'll do something about him . . . .'

Later, I trained to become a Jungian psychoanalyst since, at the time, the unconscious, the soul, did not get sufficient attention in body-psychotherapy. Conceptualizing (inter-)relational psychodynamics was as yet also unknown in that field. In the late 1980s, when I encountered Andrew Samuels – initially through his talks and writings – I became increasingly aware of the political dimension of therapeutic-analytic work. For Andrew, that very identity of the personal and the political, which had so deeply fascinated me in Gross's work, was the core of his work. However, in contrast to Gross, Andrew 'managed to walk the tightrope path to the peak of the profession *without* betraying any of his humane, innovative and radical ideas' (Heuer, ed., 2010: 1). For me, our meeting and growing friendship was akin to waking up from a kind of political depression. In the early 1990s, I translated his *The Plural Psyche*, into German (Samuels, 1989, 1993). Andrew's being Jewish played a role in this: I worked with the awareness that I was translating the thoughts of a man into the language of those who mere decades earlier had engaged in the genocide of his people. Studying analytical psychology, and blending biodynamics with psychodynamics in practice and teaching, it suddenly dawned on me that one of Jung's core-concepts, the psychology of *mutual* transference in equality in clinical work, could be seen as having originated in Gross's ideas and the mutual analysis Jung experienced with him. In 1995, with Andrew a professor of analytical psychology, he became my supervisor on a research PhD on Gross. Yet, when he predicted right at the outset that my research would lead to the creation of an international association which I was going to chair, this sounded just a bit too weird to believe and rather outlandish . . . .

2.

Indignation and outrage initially motivated my research – anger about the way the founding fathers of psychoanalysis and their followers had taken ideas from Gross – just as Anton Kuh had written: they 'stole his feathers to adorn their own posteriors' (1921:162). And not only that: in *damnatio memoriae*, they also actively

and intentionally falsified history by character assassination in order to render his contributions and his name forgotten.

Around this time, I had an initial dream: Imagine:

> It is night, night in the docks of New York Harbour – just like in one of those old American gangster movies in black & white the French call *film noir*. You can barely see, all is shrouded in a heavy fog. There are no sounds – from somewhere just a vague light: the dimmed headlights of a car. On the backseat of one of these heavy, old-time, humpbacked, black limousines, the then world-famous analyst Carl Gustav Jung is busy misappropriating manuscripts by Otto Gross. I can *just* catch him by surprise and thus prevent the worst . . . .(2015: 231)

In 1997, on a plane from London to Berlin to meet Sophie Templer-Kuh, Otto Gross's youngest daughter – *his actual daughter!* – I am reading about the South African 'Truth and Reconciliation Commission' (Ash, 1997). I imagine how Gross might have responded to this union of a revolutionary individual and nationwide political change, which also embraced the spiritual dimension. Would he have celebrated this as an instance of his dreams having come true? Late at night on the same day, Sophie and I have talked and talked, talked for many hours about her father whom she had barely known, and I am sitting in her living room whilst she prepares a midnight supper for us of fried eggs on bread: *I* am having *my* supper cooked by the *daughter* of Otto Gross!

Only weeks later, I meet with Camilla Ullmann, Gross's older daughter, near Hamburg. From our initial telephone contact, I can still hear her soft voice as she agrees to my visiting her. Later, when I am with her, Ullmann speaks about Freud and others having stolen ideas from her father. And when I ask her permission to take a photo of her, she replies, with a waggish humour in a slight Bavarian accent, 'Sure – if you think that it won't tear your camera apart!'

Over time, I contacted everyone who had published relevant studies on Gross, and, in the spring of 1998, in San Francisco, I met his grandchildren, Sophie Templer-Kuh's daughter Anita Templer and her son Anthony Templer. Together with Anthony, we founded the International Otto Gross Society. Although not physically present, Raimund Dehmlow, from Hannover, with whom I had previously discussed the formation of a society, was the third founder. Nearly all the important researchers on Gross joined, and Sophie became – and still is, at the time of writing, in her hundredth year in June 2016 – Honorary President. In the following year, she opened the 1st International Otto Gross Congress in Berlin – and I was elected Chair of the society, just as Andrew had predicted!

I can still feel my knees trembling in response to our being able to hold the 2nd International Otto Gross Congress in the millennium year of 2000 at the Burghölzli, in Zürich, thanks to Emanuel Hurwitz. It feels as if a cycle has been completed: here, almost a hundred years ago, Gross was diagnosed as schizophrenic

by C.G. Jung. Our congress becomes part of justice restored, of 'healing wounded history' (Parker, 2001) – and there is an air of a triumphant return of the repressed, too. Could there also have been a plea for forgiveness for past trespasses from the spirits of those involved, until then unredeemed?

At a party a few summers later, I learn that 'the New York psychoanalysts still have a couple of texts by Otto Gross'. New York? Just as that dream of mine presaged? I contact the Psychoanalytic Association, and the archivist explains, there is indeed something like what I am inquiring about in their archive, *but* the documents in question are just in the process of being restored, and it is uncertain whether their condition might prevent them from being photocopied . . . I am on tenterhooks, until *finally* I hear that photocopying *has* been possible, and the results are in the post! Tearing open the envelope and holding the precious pages in my hands, I burst into tears – it feels as though I'm holding 'the Holy Grail of Gross-research': 'On the problem of solidarity in the class struggle' (2005a) and 'Themes of revolutionary psychology' (2005) – texts I had known of from Franz Jung's account (1921a), but thought lost!

Some years later, Otto's daughter Sophie shares a dream with me. 'Dear Gottfried', she e-mails me:

> Otto stood not far from us, looking at us with a loving gaze. We could clearly hear his words: 'Gottfried, my dear friend, due to your unceasing efforts, and those of your friends, what I have been striving for will not have been in vain. With the foundation that bears my name, the International Otto Gross Society, that has attracted friends from all over the world, my work will survive many centuries. All my love to you, and thank you, my friend Gottfried,'
>
> Otto
>
> With all my love, Sophie. (In Heuer, 2006b: 20)

And what do Otto Gross and I have to say to each other today, when I imagine that he knows all I have written about him, including the present study? This is how I envision our meeting: approaching each other, initially we're both somewhat shy, then reach out and hold hands . . . as our eyes flood with tears: we hug each other, sit down and, for a while, just silently look into each others' eyes, happy to meet, at last, face to face.

'It's been quite some time', he then says, with an Austrian accent, '*Finally* we meet.'

'Yes . . . ,' I respond. He tells me that he's alright, where he is now: 'No more *fighting*, no pain, and no *lone*liness – no pushing myself, no self-tormenting. Now I can *be*, totally with myself, and from there also, *finally*, truly *with* an other. Just as I wrote in that letter to Frieda – you know, that was a really important moment [see p.180] – I've had time now to think about myself, and what I wrote there has helped me, it was like an initial and important step on my healing journey.'

'That's where I want to get to, too,' I say.

'You'll get there, you'll get there,' he says.

'And we – what about us?' I ask, 'You and me?

'What good luck!' he exclaims, '*Such* a meeting of souls! – Although, I mean, you *did* take your time, didn't you?'

I just shrug my shoulders, somewhat apologetically . . . .

'Well, *I* was already thinking, "This is *never* going to work!"' He continues, '*Over twenty* years after we first briefly met in Berlin!'

'Good things come to those who wait,' I reply, then add, 'You know, actually, I'm sure you understand; I think it very much corresponds to what you believe in: even if it may not have looked like this initially from my wife's perspective, I have always put my relationship with her first.' Otto nods approvingly.

'But – what am I talking about, "work",' I say, laughing, 'You know, I often think what one of my schoolteachers said to me after my final exam, "*Ach Heuer*, you've always only done here just what you *liked*!" He meant this contemptuously at the time – I was just twenty then – but I *delighted* in it: he couldn't *possibly* have said anything nicer to me!'

Otto just grins.

'I've always tried to stick to that,' I say, 'to live it. My relationship with you has always come from an inner attraction, a sense of feeling drawn towards you – it's only rarely been "work" as such, at most *a labour of love*.'

He thanks me, looking deep into my eyes, 'Yes, I can understand that. The same's true for me,' he continues, 'I mean, I've been looking for someone like you, for *you*, actually. And then I just *knew* that you were the one. Yes, the wait's surely been worth it. Although,' he laughs, 'I guess you know this, too, in yourself, "revolutionary impatience",' Otto grins, 'if there ever was anyone embodying that, then that was me! – In the meantime, I have learnt: serenity,' he smiles.

'Serenity's the word!' I agree. 'Of course, I have also, and especially, learnt from your mistakes.'

'I should very much hope so!' he laughs again, 'So did I, actually,' he adds. 'Your critique and that from your friends and colleagues has helped a lot in that. I certainly couldn't help noticing how, after your initial enthusiasm, you also became more and more able to reflect, gain a better perspective from being less close in order to gain the distance necessary for critical consideration. Of course, I did lots of totally unacceptable stuff – often the complete opposite to what I truly intended . . . .'

'Well . . . ,' I remark, 'learning from our mistakes is surely infinitely more fruitful than self-recrimination.'

He agrees.

'And now?' I ask.

'Patience,' he smiles gently and caringly. 'The main thing's done, for the time being, thanks to Emanuel,[1] Martin,[2] Jenny[3] – and you and your other friends and

colleagues – really great that Esther[4] looked after Frieda with what she's done. We shall see what the future brings.'

Notes

1 Emanuel Hurwitz.
2 Martin Green.
3 Jennifer Michaels.
4 Esther Bertschinger-Joos.

3

PSYCHOANALYSIS POLITICIZED AND SACRALIZED

FIGURE 5 *Otto Gross, Psycho-Analyst/Anarchist*. Leaflet design: Gottfried M. Heuer. © Otto Gross Archive/Gottfried M. Heuer, London.

This chapter is divided into three parts: following my considerations of history in general and the relationship between author and subject, Part I begins with a brief introduction to psychoanalytic historiography, and Part II introduces Otto Gross's clinical and theoretical work. To give an impression of his clinical practice and his way of working, I present testimonies from some of his patients and others close to them, before giving an account of the development of Gross's ideas. Part III examines his relationship with and impact on his psychoanalytic contemporaries. Although in full accordance with how Gross understood relating as a mutual relating of equals, I emphasize the innovative ideas that he contributed to the development of the field in these exchanges, since they are much less known than those of his peers, some of whom went to considerable lengths to ensure that both the man as well as the significance of his work should be forgotten.

The political aspects of Gross's ideas and their development are presented in Chapter 4. This includes Gross's 'political awakening', and how he blended psychoanalysis, politics and spirituality in his encounters and exchanges with the leading German anarchists of his time.

I. PSYCHOANALYTIC HISTORIOGRAPHY

> Suddenly, out of the becalmed mentality of the nineteenth century's last two decades, an invigorating fever rose all over Europe. No one knew exactly what was in the making; nobody could have said whether it was to be a new art, a new humanity, a new morality, or perhaps a reshuffling of society [. . .]. But everywhere people were suddenly standing up to struggle against the old order. Everywhere the right man suddenly appeared in the right place and – this is so important! – enterprising men of action joined forces with enterprising men of intellect.
>
> *Musil, 1997: 53*

When he wrote these lines, Robert Musil might well have been thinking of Gross, whom he knew.

> The cultural innovators of the century asserted their independence both of the immediate past and, in a larger sense, of history as such. For a sense of distancing, a break from all that has preceded, characterized the consciousness of the Austrian 'moderns' from their first appearance (Schorske, 1998: 141).

In addition, Nietzsche's ideas and his 'revaluation of all values' had a profound influence, leading to a whole new 'Dionysian Culture', that 'had both a social-communitarian aspect and a depth-psychological one' (ibid.: 143).

In 1899, Freud remarked, 'We are, after all, terribly far ahead of our time' (1985: 430). In step with the iconoclastic revolution that was happening around him – though not particularly appreciative of it – Freud developed psychoanalysis. 'The best way of understanding psycho-analysis', he later declared, 'is still by tracing its origin and development' (1923: 235). Yet, some twenty years ago,

psychoanalytic historian John Kerr still observed, 'psychoanalysis continues to exhibit an unconscionable disregard for its own history. No other contemporary intellectual endeavour [. . .] currently suffers from so profound a lack of a critical historical sense concerning its origins (1993: 14). Freud understood 'the history of the world essentially [. . .] [as] a series of murders of people' (1915: 292), and he seems to have endorsed this course of events when he continued to argue that 'What released the spirit of enquiry in man was [. . .] the conflict of feeling at the death of loved yet alien and hated persons. Of this conflict of feelings, psychology was born' (ibid.: 293–4).

However, rather optimistically, in 1909, Freud categorically stated, 'becoming deceitful and hid[ing] the essentials [. . .] is in direct conflict with the spirit of ΨA' (Freud and Jones, 1993: 32); adding, in 1922, 'analysis [. . .] is in the first place an honest establishment of the facts' (Freud and Pfister, 1963: 87). In stark contrast, the historiography of psychoanalysis itself followed much more Machiavellian lines, according to which 'What passes for history is simply the rhetoric of aggressive and determined men who "hide or pervert" the past "to gain a name and reputation for themselves" in the present' (Jacobitti, 2000: 50). In 1929, in her earliest published text, Anaïs Nin commented, 'the disciples of Freud pursued relentless excommunication' (1995: 71). Correspondingly, psychoanalytic history reminded Erich Fromm in 1958 of Stalinism (1989: 195) – and, being one of the victims of the psychoanalytic attempt to purge its own history, he spoke from experience. Let us pause here for a moment: all too easily an erosion of meaning occurs with terms we are too familiar with – especially when they describe something terrible. The Russian poet Aleksei Kruchenykh suggested 'The word should directly enter consciousness like a polished boot' (in Heuer, 1974: 18). The emotional impact gets lost, like the inscription on a much-used coin. Unpleasant feelings can thus get buried. The Latin term *damnatio memoriae* actually speaks of *damnation*. We get a glimpse of this in Stalinism, as reproduced in David King's book *The Commissar Vanishes* (2014), where we see how the photos of dissidents have been erased with such an apparent fury that, on occasions, the very surface of the paper appears to have been violated (ibid.: 4). Here, a literally de-faced portrait individualizes the collective history and enables feelings of compassion. In my view, such dynamics equally apply to psychoanalytic historiography: 'pioneers get arrows in their back.'

At present, 'American scientists are at work on a machine that, they hope, will bend light round objects, making them vanish. It is envisaged that a similar machine might be able to open up a hole in space-time, editing out bits of history' (Carey, 2014: 30). Considering psychoanalytic history, it seems as if its chroniclers have already, *almost* successfully, been using such a machine for over a century.

Humorously, poet Brian Patten, in his *True Confessions of a Manuscript Sniffer* (with alterations for the present purpose, in italics) voiced the historian's experience and suggested ways of dealing with their discoveries:

> Deep down in the library vaults protected by *book*-loving Doberman Pinschers I stumbled upon the literary remains of *Otto Gross*. What paradise deep in those pristine catacombs, to fondle the remains of *Carl Gustav Jung*!

> To run cold and licentious eyes over the liquid prose of *Sigmund Freud*, to sniff, with sick passion, a bundle of mildewed underwear bequeathed by *Wilhelm Stekel* [. . .] Here, too, I unearthed the mummified corpse of some long dead beauty; a tag around her throat informed me, 'About this creature much great case history was written.' Thus does psychoanalysis survive in Academia. Might I suggest in future the bodies of all dying psychoanalysts are wrapped in their manuscripts and frozen and preserved in zoos and fun-fairs, so that the student of psychoanalysis might study under more realistic conditions the state of the battered and bartered and lovely human soul. (Patten et al., 1983: 120)

Recent decades have brought ever greater insight into transgenerational trauma and its effects: the 'sins of the fathers' – and mothers – that is, of the previous generations, the abuse they suffered and how they dealt or didn't deal with it, are for us to heal. Henrik Ibsen (1828–1906) remarked, 'we sail with a corpse in our cargo' (in Trollope, 2006: 36). Journalist Jaccard Roland asked, 'Was Freud the murderer of his sons [. . .] was he responsible for the misfortune of Otto Gross [. . .]?' (1988). Whilst everyone is responsible for their own fortune or misfortune, there can be no doubt that Freud partook in the character assassination, the *damnatio memoriae*, not only of Gross. Thus, literally relegated to barely more than – as far as Freud's works are concerned – a footnote in psychoanalytic history, Gross has become a skeleton hidden in the closet of the psychoanalytic family-tradition. This is particularly embarrassing as prior to the 'murder', Gross was stripped of his valuables. Thus engaging with him also has an aspect of 'bringing history to justice' (Kulka, 2013: 48).

Almost fifty years ago, R.D. Laing observed of psychoanalytic historiography, 'we have not much else to go on than the lies that those who win the power game pass on [. . .]. Ernest Jones's official story is less credible than many fairy stories' [. . .]. More ought to be done on the sociology of attempts to destroy heretics without a trace' (1968: 76). The issue re-emerged recently: 'How is psychoanalysis today? How does it deal with dissidents and how does it implement its program of political silence?' (Breidecker, 2014). Clearly, since the beginning of Freud's 'project of a culture which no longer suppresses anybody' (in ibid.), something has gone wrong in and with the history of analytic ideas. This *basic fault* has reverberations to the present as 'Black Holes in psyche' (Clark, G., 1982); the omissions from our psychoanalytic history have become festering wounds. In order to be able to survive such traumas, analysis itself had to store away any traces in encapsulated, frozen narratives. Yet, some of the corpses of those murdered do return when the ice melts – like the corpse of the Ice Age man in the Alps or those of soldiers killed in the same region during the Great War – described recently as 'Frozen *waste*' (Spinney, 2014; emph. G.H.). Although, as Orwell stated, 'History is written by the winners' (1944) – and that is certainly true for psychoanalytic history – 'Instead of the artificial suppression of dissent, what we need is the examination of all historical quarrels, so that our ethical choices can be made as meaningful as possible' (Roazen, 2003: 56).

Freud not only spoke of the importance of the repressed, but also of its power. Referring to the history of psychoanalysis, Falzeder commented, 'like in analysis itself, it is the secret, the repressed, the warded-off, and precisely the shameful detail that has the greatest explanatory power' (1994: 189). 'From the place of repression it develops [. . .] its subversive powers' (Choluj, 2000: 134): clearly, Freud himself was aware that the return of the repressed involved freeing considerable energies. In 1911, he spoke of a 'breaking-through' in such instances, translated as 'irruption' (1911: 68): 'is it not psychoanalytic tradition at its best to let the repressed or disgraceful knowledge "gain a hearing" [Freud, 1927: 53]?' (Falzeder, 1994: 189). Hence Oscar Wilde's, 'The one duty we owe to history is to rewrite it' (1891). This duty, in terms of the Levinasian tenet of an a priori responsibility to any other, specifically applies to those banned and condemned to oblivion. Jung scholar Shamdasani, noting that Freud and Jung have become 'iconic images of "the psychologist"', states, 'Like Russian dolls, they conceal many forgotten figures within them' (2003: 2). Gross's life and work and our concept of him – or its absence – function on the collective cultural level as 'memory holes' (Orwell, 1949: 24). 'Healing wounded history' (Parker, 2001) means re-filling these by re-membering.

Echoing Fromm, psychoanalytic historian Paul Roazen observed,

> At a time when, in the Soviet Union for example, all kinds of remarkable changes have been taking place so that history is being rewritten there more in accord with what we know actually took place over the last century, analysts have remained frozen about their pasts. (1991: 4)

I believe this to be true for analysts and psychoanalytic historians: allegiances to respective idolized *Führer*-personalities continue to be fiercely expressed and defended – just as they also are in religious cults. Analytic historiography appears similarly partisan and conservative – or is this just my impression because this is the branch of history I am most directly involved with? 'Psychoanalysis is a hundred years' war – it's perpetual strife' (Molnar, in Westphalen, 2003). For example, strictly speaking, Roazen is correct in stating that Victor Tausk (1879–1919), in 1908, was 'the first member of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society to try to apply Freud's concepts to the understanding of the great mental illnesses known as psychoses' (1991: 6). However, in denouncing a system of repression (e.g., above), Roazen can be seen here at the same time as perpetuating it: whilst Gross *had* worked and published on the subject since 1904, in the form of several papers as well as a book-length study in 1907, *On the Freudian Moment of the Origin of Ideas and its Meaning in Kraepelin's Manic-Depressiveness*, he was never an official member – although his work was discussed in the Wednesday meetings. Gross's linking of Freud's psychoanalytic theory with the psychiatric concepts of Emil Kraepelin (1856–1926), once the foremost psychiatrist of the time, was appreciated by Freud in a letter to Jung, 'What interests me most about Gross's book is that it comes from the clinic of the Super-Pope, or at least was published with his permission. Gross is a highly intelligent man' (Freud and Jung, 1974: 69). It was

Gross's next book *On Psychopathic Inferiorities* (1909a), also linking psychiatry with psychoanalysis, which caused Freud to comment to Jung, 'obviously, it's another outstanding work, full of bold syntheses and overflowing with ideas [. . .] the man has a good mind!' (ibid.: 227).

Another, more recent example of historical bias is the seeming delight with which Jungians frequently quote the psychoanalyst Zvi Lothane (1999) in considering Jung's abuse of Sabina Spielrein (1885–1942): Lothane states, with an authority as if he had been present, that they did not have sex – and as if only the latter constituted abuse of patients (Covington and Wharton, eds, 2014; Waldron, 2012; Wiener, 2012; Zabriskie, 2012). The latest twist in the tale, and yet a further attempt to whitewash Jung, comes from a senior staff member of London's Tavistock Clinic, who maintains in his biography of Spielrein that there was no patient abuse because 'Jung never provided therapy for her' (Launer, 2014: 5). This, although Spielrein herself attested in her diary to Gross's encouragement of Jung to break the analytic boundaries (in Carotenuto, 1984: 107; see below). With Lothane-like certainty, Launer claims, 'Spielrein knew in any case that the story of Gross converting him [Jung] to polygamy for the first time was bogus' (2014: 106), as if Launer knew better what was going on in Spielrein's mind some one hundred years ago than she herself did at the time (see Spielrein, 1909, in Carotenuto, 1984: 107). Due to Gross's indeed negative role in Jung's abuse of Spielrein, it is not unusual for some of the Spielrein scholars mentioned to completely omit Gross's name from their histories: another instance of *damnatio memoriae* out of an over-identification with their subject?

The continuing exclusion from contemporary psychoanalytic discourse of all those analysts who – like Gross – have been purged from the analytic community is reminiscent of keeping alive the old hatred Claude Lanzmann speaks of, concerning a Polish village that allowed one half of its inhabitants to go towards certain death during the Shoah:

> I don't think that it is possible to deal with a history like that! [. . .] the hatred must remain alive [. . .] so that what they have done becomes acceptable in their eyes. The hatred must remain, otherwise they couldn't bear it, they could not live. (1988: 247–8)

However, in my view, 'It is important not only to bring to light what has been buried, like the archaeologist, but also, like the psychoanalyst, to understand why and how it was buried, forgotten and repressed' (Wolff, 1989: 6). The present study is motivated by a desire to heal such basic faults in the spirit of what writer John Connolly describes:

> There is an interconnectedness to all things, a link between what lies buried and what lies above, a capacity for mutability that allows a good act committed in the present to rectify an imbalance in times gone by. That, in the end, is the nature of justice: not to undo the past but [. . .] to restore some measure of harmony, some possibility of equilibrium, so that life may continue with

> that burden eased and the dead may find peace in a world beyond this one. (2001: 272–3)

II. THE WORK OF OTTO GROSS

> Analysis is essentially a tool for revolution.
>
> *Coline Covington, 2001: 331*

> Freud at first thought that Gross was the one to lead everyone into the future of psychoanalysis, because he considered him really in a way the most brilliant of them all, even more brilliant than Jung, maybe even than Freud. But of course he had a fatal flaw: which was in a way that he was a hippie.
>
> *David Cronenberg, 2012*

Inherent in *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Kuhn, 1970) – and any others, for that matter – are initial rejections of the new which not infrequently can give rise to rather extreme expressions of supposedly objective, 'scientific', objections. Thus, even recently, first encounters with Gross often 'create [. . .] a kind of irritation, as if [. . .] [he] were a spoilt child who can never be left out of any congratulations' (Black, 1994: 1292, referring to Jung). Still in recent years, commentators can easily get carried away to exclaim with an anything but unemotional 'scientific objectivity': 'Bullshit!' – an (of course, anonymous) reviewer of *Psychotherapy and Politics International* – 'Hagiography!' – an equally anonymous reviewer of *Psychoanalysis and History* – or a frank statement of 'I simply can't stomach this stuff' by the editor-in-chief of *werkblatt*, the German journal for psychoanalysis and social critique.

In a concrete instance of *damnation memoriae,* Gross is frequently omitted from indexes such as in the *Standard Edition* of Freud's works (see below), even though he is mentioned in the main text (e.g. Marcus, 2012: 105). Even the anonymous reviewer of my proposal for the present book, very generous in his appreciation otherwise, suggested I go easy on emphasizing Gross's originality in terms of him having been the 'first' to voice a number of seminal analytic concepts. Although, of course, happy to consider any feedback, especially of a negative nature, should this include hiding Gross's original thinking under a bushel, and to thus perpetuate a traditional historiography with a 'Stalinist' bent which mostly denies his very existence to this day? That Gross's 'accomplishments were no more than partial' should not trouble us: 'If we have learnt nothing else from the twentieth century, we should at least have grasped that the more perfect the answer, the more terrifying the consequences' (Judt, in Freedland, 2015: 32). If I really did exaggerate, 'out of over-identification', 'over-enthusiasm' – according to some other comments – does that necessarily mean that the issues raised do not need to be re-evaluated, so that everything may stay the same in the frozen history of psychoanalysis? 'Human beings tend to cling to convenient obliviousness', feminist Laura Bates writes,

> in spite of embarrassing, bourgeoning bodies of evidence to the contrary. In order for this comfortable bliss of ignorance to be maintained, it follows that

> any flagging up of the problem will be met with denial; so naturally you get accusations of lying, or exaggeration. (2014: 24)

Yet there was a time, just over a hundred years ago, when the greatest minds in analysis were full of the highest praise for Otto Gross: in 1907, Jung called him 'an excellent mind' (Freud and Jung, 1974: 67). Freud agreed, 'Gross is a highly intelligent man' (ibid.: 69). In 1908, Jung remarked, 'in Gross I experienced all too many aspects of my own nature, so that he often seemed like my twin brother' (ibid.: 156), 'an extraordinary decent fellow' (ibid.: 152). A few months earlier, Freud had complimented Jung, 'You are really the only one capable of making an original contribution; except perhaps for Otto Gross' (ibid.: 126), 'such a gifted, resolute man' (ibid.: 141). Having met Gross in the same year in Munich, Ernest Jones (1879–1958) remembered some fifty years later, 'He was the nearest approach to the romantic ideal of a genius I have ever met' (1990: 173). In 1910, Sàndor Ferenczi (1873–1933) praised Gross to Freud, 'There is no doubt that, among those who have followed you up to now, he is the most significant' (Freud and Ferenczi, 1993: 154). In 1912, Alfred Adler (1870–1937) referred to Gross as 'brilliant' (Adler, 1997: 58). Both Karl Abraham (1877–1925; 1905, 1909, 1909a), and Ferenczi (1920, 1921) repeatedly reviewed Gross's works favourably. For Wilhelm Stekel, he was 'the ingenious Otto Gross' (1923: 464). The Hungarian writer Emil Szittya, who knew Gross well, went as far as calling Gross 'a friend of Dr Freud and the intellectual father of Professor Jung' (Szittya, n.d.: 211). And the eminent German scholar of psychoanalysis Johannes Cremerius noted about the C.G. Jung of 1909, 'He is still completely and entirely the pupil of Otto Gross' (1986: 20).

Clinical practice

> It would be better to test our methods scientifically than to warn patients of us.
>
> *Otto Gross (1908a: 299)*

Gross's work as a medical doctor at the Graz psychiatric clinic in 1897/98, was commented upon by its director: 'As a physician, his strength lay in his excellent psychological dialectics' (in Berze and Stelzer, 1913). There are so few accounts of Gross's psychoanalytic work that the following 1907 letter by his anarchist friend Erich Mühsam (1878–1934) about his successful analysis with Gross, deserves to be quoted in full:

> Highly honoured *Herr* Professor,
>
> I owe you thanks for recovering from severe hysteria, brought about by your disciple, Dr Otto Gross of Graz, applying your method. I hope that a patient's report of an immensely successful treatment is of sufficient interest to you to forgive me writing to you.

I have suffered from serious pathological symptoms: strong irritability, leading to outbreaks of rage that most often ended in semi-conscious states during which I lay absolutely still whilst in total control of all of my senses, without being able to muster enough energy to move and to change my embarrassing situation. Sometimes these attacks increased in intensity to the point of total mental confusion and even to the failure of individual senses, e.g. a temporary complete blindness.

Herr Dr Gross, with whom I am on a friendly footing, told me a lot about the cathartic method and took me into treatment upon my request. The success surpassed all expectations. Within the course of about 6 weeks I was completely cured.

I do not want to keep the observations I made during the treatment from you. My poetic talent enabled me in an exceptional way to find appropriate word associations and following these I associated long trains of thought at great speed which not only afforded me precious insight into my method of thinking, but also gave me valuable revelations about my artistic production and brought up memories from the unconscious which allowed me a clear perspective on my whole development.

Gradually I noticed how the awakening capacity to reduce the symptoms of my illness to their deeper causes led towards a disappearance of the symptoms. I was able to observe how at times a question of the physician, with the response that followed it with its own associations, suddenly caused a whole crust of the illness to slide off me. Even outside the sessions and after the treatment had ended, the method automatically continued to have an effect on me insofar as I involuntarily linked an object or a word to an impression, thus triggering cryptomnesias [memories] and with them further release from cumbersome restrictions.

Of course, as a writer the way your system works held a special interest for me. I found particular value in the fact that the main task of the physician seems to be to turn the patient into a physician himself, the patient being guided towards a diagnosis of himself and thus working out his own cure. He is enabled to consider himself a sufferer no longer but to focus on his suffering instead. He objectifies his state of illness. He no longer gives himself airs of being a pitiable patient, a tortured soul, a hysteric seeking a cure, but as a physician, as someone who no longer experiences his illness, but as someone who observes. This transformation of the subjective experience into an objective evaluation is the process of the cure.

I had feared that the treatment might paralyse my productivity as a poet, since all artistic production consists of the direct projection of unconscious processes into physical action, without intellectual processing. I believe that in future the mere psychical touching of such a process might suffice to immediately bring to life the judgement of it. To my delight I am able to say today that this fear has not been realized. On the contrary: with the removal of countless disturbing phenomena that had clustered around the core of my being,

> my psyche has become more sensitive and reacts more easily to influences that stimulate artistic production. The contrast with earlier times only shows up after the production. My self-criticism has been sharpened enormously. Whereas previously, (even years after writing them), I looked at my poems as helplessly and mindlessly as in the hour of their creation, I am now able – already a few hours after conception – to realize immediately the unconscious connections that link the atmosphere of the poem with its creative form. The events that gave rise to the poem no longer live in the unconscious during its creation, but in the pre-conscious, or, as I jokingly said to *Herrn* Dr Gross: in the 'e.g.-consciousness' ['*z.B.-Bewußtsein'*], and from there they can easily be raised to the surface during the later evaluation of the completed product.
>
> Forgive me that as a layperson I am so deeply engaged with the dissection of your system. But I believe that it is especially my capacity to gain a clear perspective on the method of treatment, to which I am indebted for my cure that considerably contributed to its fast and safe completion. In this I do not want to fail to grant *Herrn* Dr Gross the main merits for the success. Without his intelligent questioning, his assured empathy for my psychical construction and his loving, caring and direct attitude towards the patient, from whom a rather compromising aural confession is after all expected, my treatment would have been impossible. Least of all do I want to forget that even my physician would have been powerless without your ingenious psychology. Thus I have to thank both of you for the relief from an unendingly depressing burden and the enrichment of infinitely precious insights.
>
> Please accept my honest and cordial thanks in the form of this brief report!
>
> Yours very devotedly,
>
> Erich Mühsam, writer. (1984: 98–101)

Mühsam's biographer Chris Hirte commented:

> Indeed a whole crust of illness slid off him. Subsequently, he shed his adolescent role of someone who is a terror of the bourgeoisie, a misogynist, and querulous criticaster, and he enriched his anarchist attitude of defiance with visionary thought. All of a sudden in his poetry he expressed tender feelings alongside those of *Weltschmerz* and mockery. (2000: 24)

Kurt Eissler (1908–1999) concluded:

> What makes this letter remarkable is that it records an impressive effect of a surprisingly short treatment on an exceedingly talented young person. His psychopathology threatened not only his mental health: his creative potential was in danger of being reduced to zero. Gross's treatment freed the patient of his neurotic symptoms and prepared the way to realisation of his unusual gift. (1983: 284)

Some six months later, Mühsam contacted Freud again, asking him on a postcard to send him his published writings which he intended to review. He concluded with greetings and 'the assurance of my reverence and gratitude for the continuing healing from my nervous illness' (in Heuer, 2001: 52). There is no record of Freud's response, nor of him having forwarded his publications to Mühsam, in spite of the latter's offer to publish his review in *Die Fackel*, the journal of Freud's adversary Karl Kraus.

Looking back some twenty years later, Mühsam was somewhat less enthusiastic:

> Around 1907 [. . .] I was one of the few who had a sceptical attitude towards psychoanalysis, although I was a friend of Otto Gross and allowed him to take me for awhile into his interrogation-treatment. I was keen to observe whether poetic creativity would be influenced by achieving an ever greater clarity about half- or completely submerged memories; at the time, I had a brief correspondence with Professor Freud himself about this. I broke off the treatment when the doctor asked questions concerning the utmost discrete issues of the erotic life, to which I responded curtly by saying, 'That's none of your bloody business!' (2000a: 36)

Mühsam introduced the writer Franziska Countess zu Reventlow (1871–1918), a key figure of the Munich Bohème, to Gross, who analysed her. In 1916, she published a satirical novella about her analysis, *The Money-complex* (1976), thus summing up Gross's diagnosis of her ongoing financial problems. Mühsam later recalled,

> One day she told me about all the things she was supposed to divulge to the *Doktor*. She had ridiculed him and then had asked whether he really believed to hear the truth from very many of his patients, to which he had replied that that was not necessary, nobody ever lied in a way that was alien to one's character, and precisely the way someone lied showed the way he associated. The termination of the treatment did not affect the countess's or my friendship with Dr Gross. On the contrary, the doctor-patient relationship completely disappeared and one continued to meet with the excellent scientist and ingenious man [. . .] in the area of problems concerning us all.
>
> In closest connection with his sexual-psychological work, Gross took the view of a morality that rested upon unrestricted promiscuity. From a totally different perspective, I had come to the same conclusions. The anarchist theory of society that I represent, strives towards a social and communal living of all people, based upon the greatest possible personal freedom [. . .]. The freedom of all presupposes the freedom of the individual and vice versa: nobody is free until all are free. Therefore the struggle against any authoritarian power can only be fought in connection with the struggle against authority within one's closest surroundings, especially against the authoritarian strivings that rule one's own mind and senses. (2000a: 36)

Mühsam's partner Johannes Nohl (1882–1963) remembered his own analysis with Gross:

> Nobody who has not seen or lived through it can possibly imagine the overwhelming experience of an initial proper analysis. For a start, it is completely impalpable for the patient that gradually he comes to feel more and more at home with all those uncanny and confused ideas from his unconscious [. . .] as if he was feeling himself to be on firm ground again for the first time after a long and dangerous sea-journey [. . .] and it is like receiving a divine call: Take off your shoes, because this is holy ground. (1916a: 329)

In his autobiography, Ernest Jones recalled his first meeting with Gross in Munich in 1908:

> He was my first instructor in the technique of psycho-analysis. It was in many ways an unorthodox demonstration. The analytic treatments were all carried out at a table in the *Café Passage*, where Gross spent most of the twenty-four hours – the café had no closing time. But such penetrative power of divining the inner thoughts of others I was never to see again, nor is it a matter that lends itself to description. (1990: 173–4)

Living a nomadic life without any fixed address, various cafés were indeed Gross's 'consulting room'. Contemptuously, C.G. Jung commented that 'he even practised psychoanalysis in coffee-houses and restaurants' (1936). Yet for the writer Karl Otten (1889–1963) it is 'the breath of freedom' (1963: 13) which wafts through these cafés. He describes a group gathered around Gross, whose members analyse each other. Initially analysed by Gross himself,

> the doctor soon referred him to his helpers and co-conspirators who worked as group on the downfall of the imperial regime and the planning of a totally new order of society. With mutual analyses they wanted to eliminate all constraints in their relationships with each other and their surroundings in order to arrive at a radical, anarchist revolt [1963: 33]. For hours [Otten] sat opposite one of these soul-explorers in a café, and whatever escaped from him in terms of dreams and promises, was pinned down, dissected, transformed into a serum and re-injected. (ibid.: 31)

This may well be called a kind of co-counselling *avant la lettre*, which was more formally developed only some forty years later: Mühsam also recalled later, 'Gross [. . .] analysed everyone at the Café Stefanie, or, rather, taught them how to analyze' (Mühsam, 2000a: 315). The members of these groups were not just artists, writers and intellectuals, but also the workers and members of the anarchist groups *Die Tat* – action – in Munich and *Der Weckruf* – the wake-up call – in Zurich, members of the working class as well as what Marx called the *Lumpenproletariat*,

discussing each other's dreams and relationships. At least to a small extent, it seems that Gross succeeded in 'bringing the psychoanalytic revolution to the masses', if not numerically, then certainly in terms of the different classes of society. In the legal proceedings in Zürich in 1912 against the metal founder Ernst Frick (1881–1956) and the joiner Robert Scheidegger (1882–?) for possession of explosives, 'invisibly, psychoanalysis, and together with it, Otto Gross sat in the dock, as he had played a role not to be under-estimated in the lives of both defendants and witnesses' (Bochsler, 2003: 116).

Of course, not all of Gross's analyses led to positive results. In his 1908 paper, 'Parental violence', Gross describes his efforts to help nineteen-year-old Elisabeth Lang, daughter of a Munich sculptor. Tragically, from his perspective, her parents interfered and put her into a psychiatric institution (see Chapter 4) – the very fate Gross desperately wanted to save her from – as he had, also in vain, tried earlier with Lotte Hattemer (1875–1906), and later would with his lover Sophie Benz (see Chapter 6, and the Appendix). In 1908/09 near Dresden, Gross analysed the architect and artist Paul Goesch (1885–1940), his older brother Heinrich (1880–1930) and the latter's wife Gertrud (1883–1932), a cousin of the graphic artist Käthe Kollwitz (1867–1945). 'Psychoanalysis broke into their world,' a friend remembered:

> One day, Heinrich Goesch encountered one of its earlier, best adepts, the son of a Graz university lecturer, who had made Siegmund [sic] Freud's teachings – not yet popular everywhere – the foundation of his life. He invited him to Niederpoyritz [near Dresden] where the young doctor, in the course of endless nightly sessions, initiated the two brothers into the secrets of the new doctrine – with the effect that Heinrich and Paul Goesch, consistent and logical in everything they took in, were not content with theory alone, but started to translate the teachings into action. They did not just listen to what their guest presented; they immediately tried it out on each other and everyone within their reach. They analysed themselves and others; they staged nightly complex-solutions [. . .]. What proved disastrous was that in the course of these experiments, Paul's thin-walled soul had cracked. Apparently, the analysis had switched off internal inhibitions which had been necessary for his hold on life: shortly after the doctor's visit he first entered a mental institution, left it once more, considerably changed, passed his exam as state architect, but finally returned to the asylum which he now needed. (Fechter, 1948: 252–3)

Another friend of the Goesch brothers, the artist Ernst Wagner (1877–1951), independently echoed some of Mühsam's sentiments in the latter's letter to Freud:

> After a highly adventurous encounter with Dr Otto Gross, Sigmund Freud's former assistant, [Heinrich Goesch] experienced a spontaneous breakthrough of his unconscious and thus came to know not only much of the hidden life of his soul, but also an eruption of his own poetic gift. 'This

> opening of the pit of his soul' was so powerful and genuine that everyone whom he touched with his joyful communicativeness felt relaxed in his presence and exposed to the most surprising experiences, afflictions and illuminations. His knowledge, the inexorability of his observations, was no more limited than his empathy for the experiences of others and his perceptive grasp of artistic form. (Wagner, n.d.: 181)

'Translat[ing] the teachings into action' (Fechter, 1948: 252) also included that Gertrud Goesch became 'the first to live all of this practically by having an affair with Gross and engaging with his ideas with passionate feminine radicalism' (Kollwitz, 1989: 584). Tragically, Paul Goesch was murdered in 1940 in the course of the Nazis' 'euthanasia' campaign to 'eradicate life-unworthy-of-living'.

Following Gross's arrest in November 1913, the medical doctor Simon Guttman (1891–1990) wrote:

> The physician Otto Gross forces the most subterranean energy-streams of the patient to the surface by affirming him in an alive way. Many psychiatrists are incapable to reach beyond the symptoms; to Gross any most wayward function of the patient reveals its active principle, so that all empirical slime may be cleansed off, the relation of the physician Gross with the patient can be turned productively into a healing agent; and thus the physician succeeds in forcing the patient to reach through and self-penetrate to the point of touch. Even in the most eroded bloody stump, Gross recognizes the human being as a sphere, a star, a metaphysicum; thus, with each patient, Gross becomes a philosopher.
>
> Every treatment by Doctor Gross demonstrates that the human being is the place where the world ought to be gripped by its horns. (Guttman, 1913)

The writer Arnold Zweig (1887–1968) also joined the campaign for Gross's release, in spite of being 'a radical opponent of Gross the theoretician' (1914: 112). 'However', Zweig continued,

> I am an absolute admirer of the physician Otto Gross. I have seen him working at close range; I have witnessed him healing an infinitely vulnerable, and, at the same time, intellectually totally superior human being whose severe neurosis had ignorantly been mocked in vain for four years by the authorities; I have witnessed how this initially unfamiliar Dr Gross was able to change the mistrust, the resistance, the defence of the patient into co-operation with his empathic, tentatively exploring and divining open soul; I have seen a man who is a physician, help an ailing human being – and I experienced, what I am writing here without any pressure – because this is a personal feeling – and what I would never have said: I experienced the genius. (ibid.)

The patient mentioned was the painter Beatrice Zweig (1892–1971), Arnold Zweig's cousin, and later wife, and, at the time, his secret lover (Dehmlow, 2015). In a 1914 letter to Gross's legal representative in the legal proceedings against him initiated by his father, Beatrice Zweig's younger sister Marie Zweig (1893–1972) declared,

> herewith under oath that I have not noticed any signs of mental illness in *Herrn* Dr Otto Gross, with whom I frequently spoke [. . .] at length and in depth during my sister's illness, and that he conducted the treatment [. . .] with an extraordinary sensitivity and psychological experience towards a completely satisfying completion. (in ibid.)

Later, Arnold Zweig summarized,

> Dr Otto Gross was seen as a particularly fine, sensitive and intelligent physician, who politically saw himself as an anarchist who was prepared to earn the money for his livelihood not from his patients, but in non-bourgeois ways. Since he was without an abode, he slept in the maid's chamber of one of his artist friends, he applied his art in the coffee-house, but was also prepared to treat female patients in their parental home, sitting at the tea-table and talking and listening to them [. . .]. Suggestion was out of the question for Dr Gross – there was no greater enemy of any kind of authority than him. He would also have prevented the interference from somebody else's will, e.g. his own. (1996: 26, 29)

Noticeably, the predominantly highly positive comments are voiced by former patients and those close to them – and this is not due to a biased selection – whilst negative judgements are expressed more from a distance. This also applies to Jung, who was enthusiastic about Gross in the course of their mutual analysis, and only radically changed his mind after this had ended badly (see below).

Psychoanalytic theory

The roots of Otto Gross's psychoanalytic ideas may be found in his growing up as the single child of what appears to have been an overpowering and authoritarian father, and an emotionally distant mother. In addition to traumatic early relational deprivation, there is evidence of what today we would call sexual abuse. Brought up 'soft-coddled', according to his father (in Hurwitz, 1979: 50), and kept away from playmates of his own age, he was a lonely and precocious little boy, emotionally deprived and desperately longing for a loving relationship. It has a touching aspect in that he kept birds and small animals in cages – an isolated soul trying to ensure that he is not completely alone? His father commented,

> his [. . .] exaggerated love for animals grew into an increasingly decisive advocacy of poor and suppressed people, of women's emancipation in the

> most extreme sense, free love, matriarchy and the suppression of patriarchy, of communism and ultimately, in a natural progression, of anarchist ideas. (1914: 76)

I understand Hans Gross as describing the development of empathy in his son, thematized in two of Otto Gross's earliest publications on ethics originating in feelings of empathy (1902) – and the emotional situation of rejection (1902b).

From his early personal experience of the roots of emotional suffering within the nuclear family structure, Gross would later frequently write about 'overcoming of loneliness', for example, in 1913, 'as our hope and duty means creating human relationships anew on a totally new basis with hitherto unheard-of possibilities of purity, constancy and productive intensity' (1913: 64). Movingly, in a posthumously published text, Gross empathically explained hospitalism as

> Lack of love! The children perish [. . .] from starvation of the soul, the child's instinct to find mother-love remains unsatisfied and the little soul dies. The countless psychic and physical stimuli to eat and move, to wake and sleep, which the happy child receives in the arms of a loving mother, the smile and the love, singing and rocking, the being gathered up by the mother at the first whimpering sound at night, and the sweet sinking back into dreaming under the whispered melodies of the protectress, the satisfaction felt by the child when placed against the nourishing breast at the first cry for food at the accustomed hour, and the first half-conscious, half-unconscious voluptuous pleasure in being alive, to lie sucking at the warm breast of the mother: all these scarcely felt, dream-like joys, so necessary to the infant at the start of its life, are wanting in the child of the institution [. . .]. Sorrowfully it vegetates in the shadow of a destiny deprived of love [. . .]. A human being is not a machine, to be fed with oil and coal and left to run according to a timetable. The new-born child is a little plant that wants the care and attention of love, and that longs for the sunshine of a happy face and the warmth of loving arms. (1920a: 376)

Empathy and relationship became the cornerstones of Gross's work. He subsequently advocated freedom and equality for women, and a free choice of partners in new forms of relationships which he envisaged as free from any use of force and violence. It is clear from his writings – especially, 'On the symbolism of destruction' (1914) – that Gross understood anger and violence as a secondary reaction formation following traumatization, and not as primary instinct or drive. Some hundred years later, this is confirmed by current neurobiological research (Bauer, 2011). Gross linked these intrapsychic issues with the hierarchical structures within the wider context of society and came to regard individual suffering as inseparable from that of all humanity: 'The psychoanalyst's practice contains all of humanity's suffering from itself' (1914: 265; t.m.). It took Jung a further thirty

years to speak of the analyst's 'duties as a citizen', that is, that he [sic!] has 'responsibility towards his patients [. . .] he [. . .] must constantly descend into the arena of world events, in order to join the battle of conflicting passions and opinions' (1946: 177–8).

Some of the philosophical roots of Gross's theories can be seen in Hegel's dialectics, the work of Rousseau, in the tradition of anarchist thinkers from Proudhon's mutualism, Fourier's ideas about free love, and in Stirner's emphasis on 'the unique individual and his own' (1910; t.m.) to Gross's contemporaries Spir and Kropotkin (see Chapter 5). Psychoanalytically, the strongest influence on Gross's ideas comes from Nietzsche and Freud, both of whom he often praised. Unlike Freud, who denied Nietzsche's influence on his ideas – going as far as claiming never to have read him – Gross acknowledged Nietzsche's philosophy as a major influence on psychoanalysis: 'the completion of Nietzsche by Freud might well be the great lucky chance of the twentieth century' (in Frank, 1976: 12).

Initially, though, it seems to have been the influence of his father which helped to channel Gross's feelings and ideas into a professional direction. The way Hans Gross conceived of criminology, which he established as a science, had to include forensics: medicine and psychiatry. Already in 1898, he published a voluminous *Criminal Psychology* (700 pp.+!). Hurwitz convincingly speculates about the father's 'dreams of working together in areas of mutual interest [. . .]. In the 1911 U.S. edition of *Criminal Psychology*, Otto Gross is still mentioned as a well-known specialist in the field of psychological disturbances, working together with his father' (Hurwitz, 1979: 50, 53). Initially drawn to philosophy and biology, Otto Gross read medicine at Graz University. After several internships in Austria and Germany, he received his medical doctorate in 1899. His doctoral thesis consists of a pharmacological compendium on the usage and effect of drugs (1901). He served as a naval doctor on a journey to South America in 1900, and volunteered as an assistant doctor in the psychiatric clinics of Hans von Gudden (1866–1940) in Munich and Gabriel Anton (1858–1933) in Graz.

Might Otto Gross, in turn, have introduced his father to psychoanalysis? We do not know when he first learnt about it, but by 1902 he was already giving lectures on Freud's psychoanalysis at Graz University – the first academic recognition of Freud's work, which had been so strongly desired by the latter. In the same year, Gross met Jung, who treated him for his drug addiction at the Burghölzli clinic in Zürich. Jung remembered;

> As early as 1900 I had read Freud's *The Interpretation of Dreams*. I had laid the book aside, at the time, because I did not yet grasp it. At the age of twenty-five I lacked the experience to appreciate Freud's theories. Such experience did not come until later. (1963: 169)

Could the encounter with Gross possibly have helped to pave the way towards Jung's subsequent appreciation of Freud's theories? The writer Szittya claimed, 'In the Burghölzli madhouse the psychoanalyst Gross became acquainted with the physician Dr Jung, whom he converted to psychoanalysis' (1923: 151). By 1904,

Gross first referred to Breuer, Freud and Jung in print (1904a: 71). The second edition of Hans Gross's *Criminal Psychology* in 1905 contains six references each to both his son Otto as well as to Freud. Two years later, Hans Gross published papers by both Freud and Jung (Jung, 1906; Freud, 1906) in the criminological journal he founded in 1896 – which continues to be published today as the longest-running journal of its kind.

Within the comparatively short span of his adult life, it is hardly possible to speak of distinctive periods within Otto Gross's work. But we can see a development from the purely medical – and philosophical – via psychiatric and analytic concerns, towards an artistic and increasingly radically psycho-political orientation. Sadly, 'Many works [. . .] have been lost, Gross himself destroyed a lot. He struggled with the attempt to free himself from a scientific-medical style' (F. Jung, 1921a: 197), and, we might add, from Freud's influence: by the time of the 1908 Salzburg psychoanalytic congress, Gross already intended to present on '"the cultural perspectives" – [. . .] the program for my life [. . .]. In *this* direction my path is clear, the giant shadow of *Freud no longer* lies across my path' (Gross and Weekley, 1990: 190; t.m.).

Yet, in 1913, Gross 'reconnects with the Vienna School [of psychoanalysis]. Scientifically in his analysis he is looking for a bridge between Adler and Freud' (F. Jung, 1921a: 197). His writings

> contain the attempt to rehabilitate himself as a scientist [. . .]. Apart from that he writes diaries [. . .]. And he has a go at belles-lettres, writes novellas and starts the first chapters of a large *Entwicklungsroman* (formative novel). He works on a book that is designed to bring the Astarte-cult closer into the present. (Ibid.)

Neither Gross's diaries nor the manuscripts of his fictional writings are known to have survived.

Following his father, who had stated earlier, 'psyche and soma always present as correlates' (in Seelig, 1944: 113), and due to the combination of his medical and psychiatric training Gross could perceive of body and mind as one: 'each psychical process is at the same time a physiological one' (Gross, 1907: 142). Thus,

> Gross joins the ranks of those researchers who refute a division of the world into physical and spiritual-intellectual realms. For them body and soul are the expressions of one and the same process, and therefore a human being can only be seen holistically and as a whole. (Hurwitz, 1979: 66)

Hence there are aspects in Gross's writings which can be seen as beginnings of a psychosomatic understanding of neuroses. In contrast to Freud's view of the limits placed on human motivation by the unconscious, Gross saw pathologies as being rooted in more positive and creative tendencies in the unconscious:

> His respect of the sovereign freedom of human beings went so far that he did not only recognize their right for illness as an expression of a legitimate protest against a repressive society – here he is a forerunner of the Anti-Psychiatry of Ronald D. Laing [. . .] – but their death wishes as well, and as a physician he helped with the realization of those, too. Legal steps were taken against him for having assisted suicide. (Sombart, 1991: 111)

Initially, like Freud, Gross focused on sexuality, yet soon came to question the former's emphasis on it as the sole root of the neuroses. He saw bisexuality as a given and seems to have been the first psychoanalyst who did not consider homosexuality pathological. This is particularly remarkable insofar as both his friend, bisexual Mühsam, as well as Gross's gay contemporary Magnus Hirschfeld (1868–1935), somewhat tragically saw homosexuality as an illness, although both vigorously campaigned against its discrimination. In those early years of the previous century, fears of homosexuality – homophobia – frequently seem to have merged with fears and biases against psychoanalysis, expressed, for example, in Mühsam's friend and anarchist comrade Gustav Landauer's (1870–1919) warning, 'Yes, it starts with psychoanalysis and it founders in homosexuality' (in Szittya, 1923: 150; see Chapter 4 on the Gross/Landauer controversy on this issue). The renowned graphic artist Käthe Kollwitz similarly expressed disdain about psychoanalysis's propagation of 'not only of polygamy, but also homosexuality' (1989: 50). This bias persists to the present, when, for example, in the satirical movie *Analyze This!* (Ramis and Lonergan, 1999), a Mafia boss threatens his analyst at the start of their working together, 'You turn me into a fag – you *die*!' Considering psychoanalysis's bias against homosexuality – both some hundred years ago, and continuing in many respects today – the linking of the two in the public mind is striking.

Gross wrote extensively about same-sex sexuality in both men and women, differentiating between a healthy primary homosexuality and a secondary one with potentially neurotic aspects:

> Homosexuality, according to his views, had a great task to fulfil in the psychic life of humanity. In essence, it raised the [sexual] drive above its bestial limitations. Only homosexuality taught both genders respectively an understanding of why it was loveable as gender. Without a man, for example, having an innermost (same-sex) feeling experience of why he was loved as a man, he remained coarse and clumsy. Only the homosexual aspect of his character allowed him to comprehend and tenderly respect the woman as lover. (Werfel, 1990: 352).

With Gross, cultural analyst Nicolaus Sombart makes a close link between homophobia as a suppression of homosexual longings and a rejection of the feminine in the form of aggression and violence. In his pioneering study, *The German Men and Their Enemies* (1991), Sombart focuses on this aspect of Gross's work, and describes how, from the perspective of an exaggerated and one-sided masculinity in Wilhelminian

patriarchy, Gross would appear to personify 'the real/true enemy' (ibid.: 102–3). Sombart understood this as a major factor in the suppression of Gross's ideas. In his struggle against patriarchy in all its manifestations, Gross is likely to have been influenced by the ideas of Bachofen on matriarchy (see Kuramochi, 2000) – although he does not quote him directly: 'The coming revolution is a revolution for matriarchy/mother-right. It does not matter in which outward form and by what means it comes about' (Gross, 1913d: 80) – a summons, in my view, as valid today as it was a hundred years ago.

Implicitly, Gross's understanding and acceptance of homosexuality can be seen as linked to the concept of the androgyne, reflected in a reminiscence of the above-mentioned Wagner, a friend of Goesch, Gross's former patient, which almost reads as if its author had been speaking with Gross himself:

> The realization of the androgyne and the redemption from a drive-compulsion became the basic theme of my discussions with Heinrich Goesch. Annoyed about the paralysis of aliveness and free development in most marriages, he was searching for new forms of Eros and hoped that he might succeed in finding these in overcoming jealousy. Because he maintained that nearly all married couples lived an egoism *à deux*, the exuberance of Eros was diminished just as the power of desire from the sobering continuation of closeness. Male authority and repression of women had the same effect as sexual licence [. . .]. Love should not be imprisoned within the bourgeois home. Others should partake in the polar intensfication of the couple, so that those two remained alive. 'We need to love more and more courageously!' [. . .]. But the man should not just remain male, the woman not just female. He should also be receptive, she generative – thus the androgyne would be created. (Wagner, n.d.: 328–9)

As in many other instances – see below – Gross's ideas can be understood as pre-formulations of concepts later developed more fully by Jung. No direct link can be documented here, but the conversation remembered would have taken place around the time of Gross and Jung's sometimes mutual analysis in 1908, and Jung began to formulate the idea of the anima only around 1916 (Jung, 1916: 295–6, n21).

Gross's encounter, in 1905, with the above-mentioned anarchists Mühsam and Nohl (see Chapter 4), marked a turning point in the development of his ideas: in anarchism, Gross seems to have found not only a theoretical framework for his earlier rebellious protest, but also an environment of political activism. This enabled him to link the ideas of anarchist thinkers with psychoanalytic concepts and his own clinical practice. Yet Gross, Mühsam and Nohl also considered a further dimension: spirituality. The three friends came to understand the personal, the political and the spiritual as 'three coordinated and mutually inclusive aspects' (Mühsam, 2000: 10), dialectically enhancing each other. Mühsam presented the core of their conceptual achievements in a 1909 letter about the 'Grossian-Freudian theories':

> In an individual, nothing happens independently of these equally important aspects of the psyche: religion and sociability. The argument that sexuality embraces both is correct, but in the same vein religiosity embraces sex and sociability, just as the latter includes sexuality and the religious. They are three coordinated and mutually inclusive aspects. We might understand sexuality as the relating of people to the individual, sociability as the interpersonal relationship, and religiosity as the relationship of the individual to the cosmos. The fact that each of these flows into the other, that there are no boundaries, and that each of these aspects embraces the other two, is self-understood [. . .]. It should be our task to heal not only the sexual 'complexes' but maybe even more the social and the religious ones, to help the individual develop a sense of community and to re-experience the buried beauty of the world. (Ibid.: 10–11)

The elegant ease with which Mühsam here was able to connect the different dimensions of relating, is highly topical today, as only now, over a hundred years later, similar ideas concerning the dialectic of these three areas are beginning to be re-formulated. Of particular importance here is the emphasis on mutuality – a concept of continuing importance today. Forming the basis of interpersonal or interrelational psychoanalysis, it was initiated by Gross, and culminated in Jung's *Psychology of the Transference* (1946a) and his diagram of mutual relating in equality (see below). This concept is already of central significance in Kropotkin's theory of mutual aid, acknowledged by Gross as a decisive influence. Gross introduced this idea to analytical theory and clinical practice. Anticipating attachment theory, Gross speaks of the 'drive for contact' (1914: 266), and, in 1920, of 'the inborn instinct [. . .] the will per se to free relating' (2005a: 240), understood as 'replacing the will to power with the will to relating' (1919c: 355). 'Therein lies the best that we have: the striving for relationship' (1920: 300; t.m.). This chimes with Rilke's earlier 'For one human being to love another human being [. . .] is perhaps the most difficult [. . .] the ultimate task [. . .] the work for which all other work is merely preparation' (1904: 7).

As mentioned, already years before his at times mutual analysis with Jung in 1908, Gross practised this form of psychoanalysis with his bohemian and anarchist friends. The way Mühsam described Gross's work with him (see above) stands in contrast to the psychoanalysis developed by Freud and modelled on the traditional doctor/patient relationship: rather than being subjected to the analyst's authority – and thus robbed of his agency, maybe even infantilized – there is a strong sense of Mühsam feeling *empowered* to play an *active* role in the analytic dialogue: actually, as he says, to become his own analyst, resembling what later pioneers of mutuality in analysis would call 'active analysis' (see below).

This resulted not only in the first linking of psychoanalysis with radical politics, but, simultaneously, with spiritual themes. In the very early years of the previous century, based on psychoanalytic theory and practice, the collective realm of politics thus began to consider the personal, just as the personal dimension

in the psychoanalytic endeavour became both politicized as well as sacralized. In 1906, Frieda Gross told Jaffé, 'We're reading a lot together [. . .]. And now we're engaging with the Old Testament.' Werfel later commented that Gross 'was a great expert on the Bible, and kept referring to it, which seemed rather strange for such a dedicated and radical anarchist' (1990: 348).

Gross came to understand psychoanalysis as a weapon in a countercultural revolution to overthrow the existing order – not as a means to force people to adapt better to it, a danger he was keenly aware of. (The argument about the conservative function of psychoanalysis in adapting to the *status quo* continues to this day). Gross wrote, 'The psychology of the unconscious is the philosophy of the revolution [. . .]. It is called upon to enable an inner freedom, called upon as preparation for the revolution' (1913d: 78). Beyond what might appear as a slogan-like surface is actually a profound statement of the personal being the political. Gross strongly believed that any revolution had to start by changing the authoritarian/patriarchal structures within oneself, internalized in the course of one's upbringing. This view, in the meantime, has been assimilated by critical thought: 'That the personal is the political is, of course, a well-worn feminist claim' (Rose, 2014: 2). However, Gross was the first to formulate this. He lived this personal 'sexual revolution' against the patriarchal order of the traditional nuclear family in his unconventional individual and communal relationships, which today we would call polygamous. Politically, he advocated the anarchist *Propaganda der Tat* – propaganda of action – and was actively involved in smuggling, theft and terrorism (see Chapter 4).

In contrast to so many of his contemporaries – including his father and Freud, as well as Jung – racist comments are notably absent in Gross's writings, both in his personal correspondences as well as his theoretical texts. On the rare occasions he used the term *Rasse* – race – it is clear that he did not mean this in the way we understand 'racist' today: in a letter to Jaffé, he apologized for the way he had jealously expressed himself in a previous letter about a lover of hers 'and his race' (Gross and Jaffé, 1998: 153). However, since the man in question, the surgeon Friedrich Voelcker, was not Jewish, this cannot be understood in any racist, or anti-Semitic sense. The final chapter of Gross's *On Psychopathic Inferiorities* (1909; t.m.) has the title, 'The racial and socio-biological position of the inferior' (ibid.: 251–5; t.m.). In this book, Gross uses Darwinian concepts of natural selection and breeding. With hindsight, ideas like these have acquired a sinister meaning in terms of how they were applied some thirty years later in Nazi Germany. However, here and elsewhere, Gross uses race in the sense of 'human race'. In his late text on the symbolism of paradise (1919a), Gross criticizes the monotheistic and patriarchal aspects of Jewish religion in a way that the cultural analyst Le Rider has interpreted as 'violently anti-Jewish' (1993: 140). Hurwitz, who has researched anti-Semitism in depth (1986), comments:

> Within the framework of his matriarchal theories, O[tto] G[ross] engages with patriarchal Judaism [. . .]. It can hardly be denied that Judaism is a patriarchal religion. In this context, it cannot be said that Gross slanders

> Judaism in any way. Criticism of Judaism or Jewish institutions [. . .] is not per se anti-Semitism. (Hurwitz, 2001)

Behind Gross's emphatic focus on transgression lies a profound realization of the interconnectedness of everyone and everything. Therefore all boundaries may be seen as arbitrary; transgressing boundaries then becomes a protest against their unnaturalness. With his advocacy of sex, drugs and anarchy, Gross became a spectre feared by the German-speaking bourgeoisie of Europe, a one-man threat to values of family and state. From a conceptual point of view, Gross's transgressions might be understood as a longing for transcendence – a transcendence *via* the body that does *not* leave the body behind in order to fly off into a purely spiritual, non-corporeal dimension. His work involves an understanding of the ensoulment of matter and flesh. Analysts do not usually write about ecstasy, lust and orgy. Those who did, often paid the price of becoming ostracized, like Gross, Reich and Laing. It is only comparatively recent that psychoanalytic authors have ventured as far as praising 'the spontaneous gesture' (Winnicott, 1987a), or 'the possibility of human freedom' (Symington, 1990). Freud, Jung and Reich all returned from what might be called their respective creative illnesses or night-sea journeys comparatively intact, and lived to tell the tale. Gross ultimately did not.

As we have seen, many of Gross's innovative ideas and concepts appear to have been forgotten. In the areas of gender, sexuality, the mind/body split, and, specifically, the dialectical linking of analysis with politics, Gross posed radical challenges that continue to be burning issues as satisfying solutions have yet to be found. It is important to face these challenges today. A comprehensive study which casts a retrospective glance at Gross's life, his work, and the influence he has had on other analysts, can not only contribute to giving him his rightful place in the history of analysis but also further the contemporary exploration of issues that, in many instances, Gross was the first to raise.

III. GROSS'S INFLUENCE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF PSYCHOANALYTICAL THEORY AND CLINICAL PRACTICE

> We psychoanalysts play with fire every day, with the possibility of getting burned and of burning someone else.
>
> *Janet Malcolm (1982: 162)*

My suggestion is that Otto Gross had a far-reaching influence on many analysts, among them the founders of the field, Freud and Jung. As my book's title suggests, the focus is on Gross's relationship with these two main exponents, and I mention others – Ferenczi, Stekel, Feigenbaum, etc. – more summarily. The rationale for this lies in the fact that Gross's impact on Freud, and especially on Jung, had profound effects on the development of analytical theory and clinical practice per se which continue to reverberate today. The same can be said about his influence on Reich, and, to an extent, Ferenczi, but these can be formulated

more succinctly and require less detailed description. Like Gross, Stekel soon became an outcast himself, his extensive writings regrettably not easy to find, and remaining unexplored to date; a 'renaissance', as Ferenczi had in the 1990s is still outstanding, while Benussi and Feigenbaum, albeit important for the establishment of psychoanalysis in Italy and the US respectively, do not seem to have had a great influence on its development as a whole.

In 1935, the psychoanalyst Fritz Wittels (1880–1950) asked C.G. Jung, 'What did his [Gross's] genius consist of that so many who have known him talked about?' In the following, I shall attempt to answer this question by considering Gross's influence on the concepts of his most important colleagues, and devoting individual sections to each of them.

Otto Gross and Sigmund and Anna Freud

> A highly gifted, assured man.
>
> *Sigmund Freud, 1908 (Freud and Jung, 1974: 141; t.m.)*

As mentioned above, Gross challenged the way Freud's work was beholden to the traditional – and, I might add, patriarchal – medical model in its advocating an unengaged objectivity on the analyst's part. In contrast to Freud's recommendation that the analyst practise as though he were an 'opaque mirror' (1912: 118), Gross focused on what he understood as 'the inborn [. . .] will to [. . .] relating' (2005a: 240). For him, this stood 'in opposition to the will to power, and it needs to be uncovered as the elementary contrast between the revolutionary and the adjusted – bourgeois – psyche and it has to be presented as the highest and true goal of the revolution' (Gross, 1919c: 355).

These ideas deserve to be considered in the light of the development of what was later to become object relations theory. Gross's position anticipates those of Suttie (1898–1935; 1935) and Fairbairn (1889–1964; 1952), a development that culminated in Winnicott's (1896–1971) famous statement, 'There is no such thing as a baby' (1952: 99). We become and are what we are only in and through relating: 'The relationship is primary, or, in Martin Buber's language: "In the beginning was the relationship"' (Zinkin, 1991: 60). It is interesting that Buber should be cited in this context, given Gross's influence on him (see Chapter 4). According to recent spiritual teachings, 'only equals are at peace [. . .]. You cannot perform miracles without [. . .] a belief in perfect equality' (Schucman and Thetford, 1999: 116, 105). Psychoanalyst Fabricius conceptualizes the 'mutual search for the self in the analytic dyad' (1995).

Gross was the first psychoanalyst to argue that an analytic perspective needed to include not only an appreciation of the social context within which clinical work takes place, but also an active political engagement. Thus he saw the necessity of linking internal, intra-psychic change with external social and political change – to the enhancement of both ends of that much-disputed spectrum. In 1908, he presented at the 1st International Psychoanalytic Congress in Salzburg. Wilhelm

Stekel (1868–1940) recalled, 'Attending the meeting was also the highly gifted Otto Gross. In his inspiring speech he compared Freud to Nietzsche and hailed him as a destroyer of old prejudices, an enlarger of psychological horizons, and a scientific revolutionary' (1950: 122).

Freud explicitly tried to curb Gross's efforts to link psychoanalysis with radical political activism by admonishing him, 'We are doctors, and doctors we shall remain' (in Gross, 1913b: 62). This echoed the conclusion Freud had reached at the end of his own tentative critique of society from a psychoanalytic perspective earlier in the same year: in one of the final sentences of '"Civilised" sexual morality and modern nervousness', he declared 'It is certainly not a physician's business to come forward with proposals for reform' (1908: 204). However, fifteen years earlier, in a draft on 'The aetiology of neuroses', Freud had speculated on a cure for neurasthenia:

> The only alternative would be a free sexual intercourse between young men and unattached young women [. . .]. Otherwise the alternatives are – masturbation, neurasthenia [. . .]. In the absence of such a solution society seems doomed to fall victim to incurable neuroses which reduce the joy of life to a minimum, destroy the matrimonial relationship. (Freud, 1985: 44)

It was to take decades before Freud ventured again into the realm of social critique in *Civilisation and its Discontents* (1930) and to formulate ideas similar to Gross's. In this later text, Freud seems to implicitly agree with Gross's linking personal internal with collective, political, external change, when he observes that 'civilisation behaves towards sexuality as people or a stratum of its population does which has subjected another one to its exploitation. Fear of a revolt by the suppressed elements drives it to stricter precautionary measures' (ibid.: 104). But even then, whilst Fascism was on the rise, Freud remained cautious and only tentatively hopeful that 'we may expect that one day someone will venture to embark upon a pathology of cultural communities' (ibid.: 144). Gross already had done this, and Wilhelm Reich (1897–1957) was then just in the process of deepening the subject with his profoundly insightful *Mass Psychology of Fascism* (1975a). Yet in the same year, 1930, Freud broke with Reich – with words very similar to the ones he had said to Gross in 1908: 'It is not our purpose, or the purpose of our existence, to save the world' (in Reich, 1975: 58). Freud reasoned, 'I'm a scientist. I have nothing to do with politics' (ibid.: 80). Four years later, Reich was expelled for political reasons from the International Psychoanalytic Association, at that time under the reign of Anna Freud (1895–1982) and Ernest Jones: as a known anti-Fascist, Reich was not to be tolerated by an organization that was trying to make a 'deal with the devil' (Lothane, 2001) and hence did not want to alienate the newly elected Nazi Party (see below).

Gross was deeply troubled by Freud's rejection of one of the central tenets of his understanding and application of psychoanalysis to culture, society and politics. Only weeks before his death, Gross mourned the 'repression of

final revolutionary conclusions [. . .] by the ingenious discoverer of the explor-atory method' (1920b: 319).

Twenty years before Wilhelm Reich and forty years before Herbert Marcuse, Otto Gross was the man who developed in his psychotherapeutic practice the theoretical bases of the 'sexual revolution' (the term comes from him, if we are to believe Werfel, 1990: 349) – the theory of the freeing of the erotic potential of the human being as a precondition of any social or political emancipation (Sombart, 1991: 109–10).

Yet, Gross was not the only one at the 1908 Salzburg Congress who linked discoveries about the structure and dynamics of the unconscious with those of societies and their effects on individuals. In his congress-paper 'Psychoanalysis and pedagogy' (1984), Ferenczi, speaking about 'the holding on to absurd religious superstition and the customs of the cult of authority, the clinging to decrepit institutions of society', stated that 'liberation from unnecessary inner coercion would be the first revolution that would create a true relief, whereas political revolutions usually just dealt with outer powers, i.e. means of coercion, changing hands' (ibid.: 12–13). Freud 'refused to give any comment, though urgently requested [. . .]. Ferenczi curbed his radical ambitions and for a long time became Freud's closest collaborator' (Laska, 1993ff.: 3). According to Ferenczi scholar Melanie Friedrich (2006a), even after the Salzburg Congress, some of Ferenczi's papers continued to have politically radical aspects – in their Hungarian version, a language Freud did not speak. For the translations into German, Ferenczi self-censored them in this respect.

The shift in Freud's attitude towards Gross becomes evident in a letter to Karl Abraham (1877–1925) late in 1908. The latter had reported to Freud about 'an endemic cluster of Freudians' (Freud and Abraham, 2002: 69) in Berlin, where the head of a school had tried to make psychoanalysis compulsory for his teachers. Freud replied, the 'endemic is priceless' (ibid.: 72), continuing with an indirect, yet clear reference to Gross, 'There seems to be a similar centre of infection in Munich, and it seems to have affected the craziest artists and the like. No doubt one day there will be a great deal of noise, if the appropriate impulse is given' (ibid.; t.m.). Did Freud have – among others – Gross in mind, when three years later, he issued the following statement?

> Neither I myself nor my friends and co-workers find it agreeable to claim a monopoly [. . .] in the use of a medical technique. But in the face of the dangers to patients and to the cause of psycho-analysis which are inherent in the practice that is to be foreseen of a 'wild' psycho-analysis, we have no other choice. In the spring of 1910 we founded an International Psycho-Analytical Association [. . .] in order to be able to repudiate responsibility for what is done by those who do not belong to us and yet call their medical procedure 'psycho-analysis'. (1910: 226–7)

Freud referred to the 2nd Psychoanalytic Congress in Nuremberg:

> [Freud's] attempt to circle the wagons [. . .] was a disaster: a number of his most celebrated scientists left Freud because they found no room for themselves in what had become a strict Freudian school [. . .]. The Freudians [. . .] would no longer have to answer for the crazed therapy or obscure speculation of some self-declared Freudian. (Makari, 2008: 280–81)

Historian Makari understands Gross and Eugen Bleuler as representing the 'opposite poles of the Freudian community' (ibid.: 232–4). Clearly, Gross no longer 'belonged': as a 'wild psycho-analyst', he had become *persona non grata*. A year after the Nuremberg Congress, a report of the 1908 Salzburg Congress was published, listing its participants. Yet strikingly, although Gross attended, his name is omitted (Rank, 1911). Only Stekel – and, later, Jones – confirmed Gross's presence at the Salzburg Congress, stating, 'Magnificent was the talk by Otto Gross'(Stekel, 1925: 552). In his biography of Freud, Jones mentioned both Gross as well as his wife as participants (1974: 45). Active omissions, such as the deletion of Gross's name, amount to the falsification of historical documents, and it is shocking that such practices, otherwise only known from totalitarian regimes, both secular and religious, should have seemed acceptable – and still are.

At present, the impact Gross had on Freud may well have been so thoroughly obscured that attempts to discover any connection have become difficult. There is but a single reference to Gross in Freud's published writings (1905a: 175). In contrast to the German edition of his works, in the *Standard Edition*, the title of Gross's text which Freud refers to (Gross, 1904) is not mentioned, nor does his name – again, unlike in the German edition – appear in any of the indices of the *Standard Edition*. It seems an ironic synchronicity that this single reference – in *Jokes and their Relation to the Unconscious*! – appears at the end of the following sentence: 'Repression may, without doubt, be correctly described as the intermediate stage between a defensive reflex and a condemning judgement' (Freud, 1905a: 175). Cremerius states that 'Freud later had all references to Gross removed from psychoanalytic publications' (1995: 18).

In 1904, seven years before Freud published his commentary on the Schreber case (1911), Gross was the first psychoanalyst to consider Schreber's memoirs (1904a: 48, 50–51). In contrast to Freud's later diagnosis of paranoia, Gross argues against paranoia and decides for *Dementia praecox*, which in this paper he proposes to call 'Dementia sejunctiva' (ibid.). Although Gross's paper was published in the renowned *Monatsschrift für Psychiatrie und Neurologie,* there is no reference to it in Freud's text. Freud biographer Clark wrote:

> Eugen Bleuler quoted extensively from [Schreber's] *Memoirs* in his classic *Dementia Praecox, or the Group of Schizophrenias*, written in 1908, although not published until 1911, and it was most probably Bleuler who drew Freud's attention to the *Memoirs* after the Salzburg Congress of 1908. Freud is known to have discussed the subject with Ferenczi while they were on holiday in Sardinia during the summer of 1910, and during the last weeks of the year

> he wrote 'Psychoanalytic Notes on an Autobiographical Account of a Case of Paranoia'. (Clark, 1982: 301)

It seems rather more likely that Eugen Bleuler (1857–1939), director of the Burghölzli in Zurich, would have noticed Gross's text, published four years previously, particularly as Gross had been a patient at his clinic. In addition, Ferenczi may well also have known of Gross's text. Perpetuating Clark's ignoring of Gross's psychoanalytic-psychiatric consideration of Schreber's *Memoirs*, Gay also only speaks of Schreber's 'earliest readers among psychiatrists, notably Bleuler and Freud' (1988: 279).

It almost sounds as if Freud was afraid that he *might* be influenced by Gross, who had reached similar conclusions (though much less cautiously expressed) in his critique of society as a source of neuroses, as well as in his attitude towards lay-analysts, although Freud concerned himself with the latter question only much later (1926). He explained to Jung that his not taking on Gross as a patient might have been out of 'self-defence' (Freud and Jung, 1974: 157), explaining

> the difficulty would have been that the dividing lines between our respective property rights in creative ideas would inevitably have been effaced; we would never have been able to get away from each other with a clear conscience [. . .]. I have a horror of such difficult situations. (Ibid.: 152)

It is as unclear in the German original, as it is in translation, whether Freud was referring to Gross or Jung regarding his 'horror'. I understand such an ambivalent statement from a psychoanalytic perspective as – unconsciously – referring to both. In contrast to this statement, Freud had claimed earlier, 'I regard a kind of intellectual communism, in which neither party takes anxious note of what he has given and what received, as a highly estimable arrangement' (ibid.: 28)! Later, Freud confessed to Ferenczi, 'I [. . .] tend strongly towards plagiarism' (Freud and Ferenczi, 1993: 133).

Nevertheless, Gross's focus on the conflict between self and other does seem to have made an impression on Freud. In 1915, without using Gross's terminology, Freud considered the very same issue – albeit in terms of 'an "outside" and an "inside"' (1915a: 119), 'subject' and 'object' (ibid.: 122), 'Subject (ego) – Object (external world)', or 'ego – non-ego' (ibid.: 133–4). Freud echoes Gross when he concludes his paper by defining this 'antithesis' (ibid.), 'ego-external world [. . .] [as one] *of the three great polarities that dominate the life of the psyche*' (ibid.: 140; t.m.). In 1909, Gross had already stated: ' The truly separating contrasts of the psyche [thus] 'torn apart' are **only** possible as the contrast of that which is one's own and that of the **other** (1909a: 242). To illustrate his ideas on this 'antithesis' in his 1915 text, Freud uses observations on sadism and masochism – just as Gross had done in his text on the same subject in the year before (Gross 1914), published in the *Zentralblatt für Psychoanalyse und Psychotherapie*. It is difficult to imagine that

Freud would not have seen Gross's paper in this journal. Surely, in this instance, it cannot be argued that Freud 'could not have known Gross's paper because it was published in some obscure anarchist publication' (Shamdasani, 1996).

Notably, Gross continued in his 1909 text with a sentence that can be regarded as the first formulation of what Freud (1923) would introduce 14 years later as the super-ego: 'I believe it to be possible to say: the psychical-analytical healing of the ideogenetic torn-apartness consists of the liberation of the individually pre-formed purposefulness *from the suggestively fixated will of the other* in the infantile environment' (Gross, 1909a: 242; emph. G.H.).

In 1923, Freud assumed the super-ego to result from the oedipal struggle. Yet, in Gross's approach, although he does not actually determine the start of this process, this development it assumed to begin at a much earlier date, that is, right after birth. In this instance, he is closer to Melanie Klein's (1882–1960) theories. In 1914, Gross observed:

> In the existing family the child, with his beginning capacity to experience, experiences that his inborn character, his inborn will towards his own, his desire to love in the way that is inborn, is neither understood nor wanted by anyone. There is no response to his longing to be redeemed: to keep his own individuality and to be allowed to love according to his own inner laws. Nobody replies to this longing but his own realisation to be rejected and suppressed without defence, the realisation of the immense loneliness all around. And to this infinite fear of the child in his loneliness the family, as it exists today, has only one response: be lonely or become the way we are. No human can live without love already as a child. That is impossible. In the existing family the child has to become like those who surround him. The fear of loneliness [. . .] forces the child to adapt (1914: 266; t.m.)

No other psychoanalyst at that time spoke as compassionately about the experience of the young child in the family. These sentences were written 65 years before Alice Miller's (1923–2010) *The Drama of Being a Child* (1995). Gross describes here the enforced introjection of the parental value-system – from a Freudian perspective, the origin of the superego. In addition, Gross is anticipating what later Freud came to call the 'narcissistic wound' – or, initially, 'a [. . .] narcissistic offence of the ego' (Freud, 1917: 253; t.m.). Moreover, Gross's thoughts foreshadow Jung's concept of the *persona* and Winnicott's concept of the 'false self'.

The above quotation from Gross also implicitly contains a description of the defence mechanism – or should we say more empathically, in the spirit of Gross, 'the protective or emergency-rescue mechanism'? – of 'identification with the aggressor', as Anna Freud would call it over twenty years later (1979: 109–21). Abraham had already described, but not named, a similar process (1925: 9) – also without referring to Gross. Jeffrey Masson claimed that Ferenczi was the first in 1932 to describe – and name – this mechanism in a paper originally entitled, 'The passions of adults and their influence on the character- and sexual- development of

children' (Masson, 1985: 148; Ferenczi, in ibid.). Thus Anna Freud's biographer, Young-Bruehl's claim that 'identification with the aggressor' was 'the one defence that [Anna Freud] presented [. . .] for which there was no existing literature' (1990: 210) is obviously false. Abraham speaks of an injury to the child's narcissism (1925: 9), whereas Anna Freud – actually rather chillingly – assumed the identification with the aggressor to be 'a by no means uncommon intermediate stage in the normal development of the superego' (1979: 116; t.m.), by which the child 'processes an anxiety experience which he has just undergone' (ibid.: 113; t.m.).

Neither Abraham nor Anna Freud consider *why* a child should behave in this way. This only becomes clear in Gross's account: emotionally, the infant is put under pressure with the threat of love being denied to him/her, which, at this early stage, as Gross explains, amounts to a death threat in the baby's emotional perception. The baby 'adapts', or, in Ferenczi's terminology, 'identifies with the aggressor'. Emotionally facing annihilation, in a desperate need to be loved, unconsciously the child is hoping that if s/he becomes like the aggressor, maybe *then* s/he will gain the parents' love. This leads to destructive self-sabotage, of which Gross was aware of when he spoke of the inner 'conflict that rips psychic unity apart [. . .] in each individual' (1914: 265), resulting ultimately in the 'urge to rape and be raped' (ibid.). Here, for Gross, lies the origin of sadomasochism, which he thus explains as secondary reaction-formation, and not as a primary drive or instinct as Freud later did, in terms of the so-called 'death-instinct'. Summarizing Gross's ideas, his friend, the writer Franz Jung (1888–1963), described this development of the child within the context of family as the 'distorted and sick movement of the individual towards the collective' (1921a: 210), explaining also its political implications:

> This movement is based on the concept of ensuring safety in order to thus preserve normality and an equilibrium. The rupture in earliest experience which leads the individual into the conflictual tension of a new concept, i.e. that of rape, projects as transference the idea of authority. Authority is being born in the mind of the oppressed. Then it gets converted into convention as an authoritarian organisation that appears to organically belong to the individual – as family, religion etc. and finally the state [. . .]. Decisive is the formation of authority within the lonely experience of the individual, the striving towards being ruled over, out of which grow ruler and rule. (Ibid.)

These considerations anticipate many of Reich's (1975a) and Adorno's later conceptualizations of *The Authoritarian Personality* (1980). But let us consider Gross's description of what today we may call the relational trauma of narcissistic wounding suffered by the infant, and compare it with Anna Freud's claim that this should be 'normal'. From her father's perspective of, 'What we give out as being scientific truth is only the product of our own needs [. . .] we find only what we need and see only what we want to see' (Freud, 1933: 175–6.), it seems quite likely, that both Otto and Anna are speaking of different ways of dealing with trauma inflicted

primarily by their respective fathers. In Gross's experience, his father's efforts to force him 'to become the way we are' culminated in having him declared insane and bringing the son under the father's absolute control, employing legal means. Throughout his life, Otto, the son, emphatically refused to surrender, to 'identify with the aggressor'. It makes sense to me to assume that this is the trauma Gross describes – and, in doing so, he appears to be movingly in touch with his pain. With Anna, the daughter, her father appears to have been more successful: she remained the unmarried 'Athene', as he called her, to whom – symbolically speaking – her father Zeus alone had given birth: his efforts to shape her according to the image he had of an ideal daughter culminated in him becoming her analyst. Tragically for Anna, he succeeded: surrendering, she followed in his footsteps, became his handmaiden. (I am not implying that, to be fulfilled, woman must be married; rather, I am referring to indications that her father held suitors at bay.) Anna adapted, identified with the aggressor to the extent of calling her trauma 'part of normal development'. Unlike Otto, to enable her to survive, she may well have had to numb herself to the pain of the trauma suffered, and to split it off.

Otto Gross and Carl Gustav Jung

> He is a man whom life *has* to cast out.
>
> *C.G. Jung, 1908 (Freud and Jung, 1974: 156)*

Of all his psychoanalytic colleagues, Gross's relationship with C.G. Jung was the closest – with fateful consequences for both: Gross was Jung's patient, probably twice, and they also analysed each other. The encounter with Gross and the impact this had on Jung's life and work is most closely charted in the case notes Jung made of his work with Gross (Jung, 1908), and in the letters he exchanged with Freud. It is possible to show that Gross had a far greater influence on Jung than the latter ever acknowledged. On the one hand, Jung reported to Freud, 'The analysis [with Gross] has yielded all sorts of scientifically beautiful results which we aim to formulate soon' (Freud and Jung, 1974: 153). On the other hand, in his published works, Jung's acknowledgement of this is cursory. This discrepancy is important and requires investigation. What had happened between the two analysts who, at one point, had felt so close to each other that Jung experienced Gross 'like my twin brother' (ibid.: 156)? I shall address this task in two parts, first focusing on their personal relationship, especially their mutual analysis, and then on the direct and indirect influence Gross's life and ideas had on Jung.

Mutual analysis

In the spring of 1908, Jung told Freud, 'I have let everything drop and have spent all my available time, day and night, on Gross, pushing on with his analysis [. . .]. Whenever I got stuck, he analysed me. In this way my own psychic health has benefited' (ibid.: 153). After Gross terminated their mutual analysis, in the film

A Dangerous Method (Cronenberg, 2011), a – fictionalized – Jung somewhat wistfully says to him, 'I'd say the analysis was not too far from completion.' To which Gross replies, 'Mine – yes. – I'm not so sure about yours.'

In the Freud/Jung correspondence, Gross is frequently mentioned, mostly in a positive vein, until Freud referred him to Jung for treatment in May 1908. Freud calls Gross, 'a highly intelligent man' (Freud and Jung, 1974: 69), and Jung agrees. For him, too, Gross has 'an excellent understanding' (ibid.: 67) and 'a very intelligent mind' (ibid.: 85). However, long before Gross's analysis with Jung – and vice versa – can begin, others are involved: already in March 1908, Hans Gross wrote to Bleuler, 'With the utmost tension we are awaiting your decision as to whether our poor son may gain admission [to the Burghölzli]' (in Hurwitz, 1979: 133). And, again, in early April, Hans Gross entreats Bleuler for what he perceives as his son's sake:

> Now everything depends on bringing him just once to the B[urghölzli] – if that is impossible, all shall be lost, as I believe he starts to become very dangerous.
>
> I implore you, honoured colleague, for all the world, to admit my son, maybe to initially just speak with him about treatment, then use a reason for internment. (Ibid.: 134)

It is unclear what Hans Gross refers to regarding the danger posed by his son, but he does seem to be asking Bleuler to trick his son into being sectioned. Nevertheless, a genuinely loving fatherly concern is expressed in these and other letters, a despair about his son's ideas and lifestyle, which from the father's perspective – described as 'bourgeois-royalist, patriarchal/authoritarian' (Gschwend, 2004: 87) – cannot but appear highly dangerous, if not actually life-threatening: the only solution he can envisage in his distress is the use of force to control his wayward son – by any means possible, medical, psychiatric, even legal. In a fatal and tragic dialectic, father and son seem to polarize towards ever greater extremes between 'the law of the father' at one end of a spectrum, and total revolutionary liberation on the other. The son experiences this as fighting for his life, and feels a murderous rage towards his father. In the context of the patriarchal society of the early twentieth century, theirs becomes a paradigmatic generational struggle of near-archetypal dimensions. Is it not understandable under these circumstances in spring 1908, that all the other men involved, Bleuler, Freud, and Jung, as representatives of authority, ultimately become hated father figures for Gross?

Ernest Jones's impression of Jung's attitude towards Gross at this time was anything but positive. His first ever letter to Freud is almost entirely about Gross: 'I hear that Jung is going to treat him psychically, and naturally I feel a little uneasy about that for Jung does not find it easy to conceal his feelings and he has a pretty strong dislike to Gross' (Freud and Jones, 1993: 1). At that time, Freud had already referred Gross to Jung for treatment, after having written to Jung earlier, in anticipation of the Salzburg Congress:

> A bit of a chat with you there will do me the world of good. However, we also need to consider Otto Gross, he urgently needs your medical help; what a pity, what a gifted, resolute man. He is stuck in cocaine and probably in the early phase of toxic cocaine paranoia. I feel great sympathy towards his wife; one of the few Teutonic women I have liked. (Freud and Jung, 1974: 141; t.m.)

In terms of Gross's cocaine addiction, Freud speaks from his own experience. Jung responds, 'One thing alone bothers me and that is the affair with Gross. His father has written urging me to take him back with me [from Salzburg] to [the Burghölzli] Zurich' (ibid.: 142). After the congress, Freud sent a 'Medical Certificate' as a formal referral:

> I confirm that the Dr Otto Gross, unpaid lecturer in neuropathology, whom I have personally known for years, urgently requires admission to a closed institution in order to complete there under medical supervision the withdrawal from opium and cocaine, drugs which he has taken in the course of recent years in such a way as to threaten his physical and psychical health. (In Hurwitz, 1979: 135)

In an accompanying personal letter to Jung, Freud adds, 'Enclosed the certificate for Otto Gross. Once you have him, don't let him out before October when I shall be able to take charge of him' (Freud and Jung, 1974: 147). Jung replies, 'Only a short letter for now as I have Gross with me. He is taking up an incredible amount of time' (ibid.: 151). In his autobiography, Jones commented:

> Jung did his best to help [. . .] [Gross. He] had the laudable ambition to be the first to analyse a case of dementia praecox, and he worked hard at the task; he told me that one day he worked unceasingly with Gross for twelve hours, until they were almost reduced to the condition of nodding automata. (Jones, 1990: 164)

This implies that the damning diagnosis of Gross Jung arrived at *after* the analysis fulfilled Jung's ambitious striving *before* the work had even started.

On 19 May, Freud writes:

> Now to Gross! I can imagine how much of your time he demands. Initially, I thought that you just would take him on for the withdrawal period, and that I would top that in the autumn with an analytic treatment [. . .]. Of course this is shamefully egotistical of me, but I must confess that it is better. (Freud and Jung, 1974: 152; t.m.)

Here and on further occasions – see below – Hurwitz feels that Freud may be protesting a bit too much, hiding his disapproval of Jung's analysing Gross before

he had the opportunity to do so, by expressing the opposite, a defence mechanism Freud himself was to define some seventeen years later (Freud, 1925; Hurwitz, 2002: 64). Jung responds:

> I have let everything drop and have spent all my available time, day and night, on Gross, to further his analysis as much as possible [. . .]. Whenever I got stuck, he analysed me. In this way my own psychic health has benefited too [. . .]. Psychically his condition has improved a lot, so that the future looks less sombre. He is a man of rare decency with whom one can immediately get on very well, provided one lets go of one's own complexes. Today is my first day of rest, as I finished the analysis yesterday. So far as I can see, there will probably just be gleanings from an after all very long string of minor obsessions of secondary importance. (Freud and Jung, 1974: 153)

Importantly, Jung explicitly notes the benefit for himself in the context of this mutual analysis: apparently, Gross is capable of analysing him in spite of allegedly suffering from *Dementia praecox*. Freud encourages:

> Gross is such a worthy man, and such a strong mind, that your work must be regarded as an important achievement for society. It would be a fine thing if a friendship and collaboration between the two of you were to grow out of this analysis. (Ibid.: 154)

Freud continues with a subtle rebuke: 'I must say I am amazed about the speed of youth that is able to finish such tasks in only two weeks, with me it would have taken longer' (ibid.: 154). Freud concludes, 'I have never had a patient like Gross; he should be able to clearly show the nature of the matter' (ibid.: 155), implying, again, that he might have liked to analyse Gross. Jung replies the following day, 'I am writing in a great hurry, but I shall soon write you more about the issue of Gross' (ibid.).

However, it was almost three weeks before he did:

> Finally after a long time I have a quiet moment to concentrate on a letter. Until now the Gross affair has consumed me in the fullest sense of the word. I have sacrificed days and nights to him. Under analysis he voluntarily gave up *all* medication. The last three weeks we worked only with very early infantile material. During this time I gradually came to the sad realisation that although the infantile complexes could all be described and understood, and although the patient had momentary insights into them, they were nevertheless overwhelmingly powerful, being permanently fixed and drawing their affects from inexhaustible depths; with the utmost effort on both sides to achieve insight and empathy we are able to stop the leak for a moment. The next moment it opens up again. All these moments of profound empathy leave not a trace

> behind them; they quickly became insubstantial memory-shadows. There is no development, no psychological yesterday for him [. . .]. I am afraid you will have already read from my words the diagnosis I long refused to believe and which I now see before me with terrible clarity: Dementia praecox. (Ibid.: 155 –6)

Importantly, it is exactly the aetiology described by Jung in this letter to Freud, which is currently being rethought by clinicians in response to neurological research. Thus the fact that Gross's infantile material does not respond to empathy and insight, corresponds with brain-imaging which shows the impact of traumatic experience on the capacity for processing experience (Wilkinson, 2010). Thus clinicians currently view the picture described by Jung as indicative of early relational trauma, which includes an understanding that interpretation and insight are clinically inappropriate in the face of early cumulative traumatic experience. Of course, this research was not available to Jung. However, it does almost certainly invalidate his diagnosis, particularly when coupled with the fact that Gross was able to competently analyse Jung in return, a feat not easily achieved by someone who truly suffers from *Dementia praecox*. Jung continued from the above with: 'A most careful anamnesis of his wife and a partial psychoanalysis of her have only given me all too many confirmations of the diagnosis' (Freud and Jung, 1974: 156).

It may seem strange to get confirmation of the diagnosis of a patient via 'a partial psychoanalysis of his wife'. However, this was not unusual then – nor now, according to Hurwitz, to get an '"objective" anamnesis' (1979: 150). Nevertheless, 'in this case-history, Jung and Frieda Gross appear as accomplices discussing a disobedient and unruly child' (ibid.: 151). From Jung's limited perspective, Gross's 'very early material' and his 'childhood complexes' wrecked the analysis which had begun so promisingly. Initially, Jung had viewed Gross as 'a man of rare decency with whom one can immediately get on very well, *provided one lets go of one's own complexes'* (Freud and Jung, 1974: 153; emph. G.H.). Might we speculate that, in analysing Gross, Jung did not quite manage to 'let go' of his 'own complexes', particularly as far as his father was concerned? Emotional sensibility to empathize with the child in its parental relations, pioneered by Gross, was as yet unknown in psychoanalysis, as Freud showed in 'the Dora case' (1905), and, later, Stekel did in the account of his work with Gross (1953). Accordingly, lacking any discernible indication of compassion, Jung states, Gross 'reacts [. . .] like a 6-year-old boy, for whom [. . .] every friend, everyone who wishes him well or ill [is] always the father, and whose world is a boyish fantasy filled with heaven knows what monstrous possibilities' (Freud and Jung, 1974: 156). Might Jung, in identification with the aggressor, have taken on the father-role, split off his own 'inner child', and projected onto Gross both his own early suffering from a father-wound as well as the concomitant rage? Plausibly, psychoanalyst Leonard Shengold comments, 'There was certainly a narcissistic mirroring confrontation between Jung and Gross' (1993: 113). Bearing in mind such unconscious dynamics, it would

make sense for Jung to cast Gross into the abyss of incurable madness, prophesying his imminent doom:

> His exit from the stage is in keeping with the diagnosis: the day before yesterday Gross, unguarded for a moment, escaped over the garden wall and will without doubt soon turn up again in Munich, to go towards the evening of his fate. (Freud and Jung, 1974: 156)

This speculative understanding, outlined above, would explain Jung's continuing ill-feelings, lasting for over 25 years (see below). Considering that Jung only seriously engaged with Freud's ideas after his 1902 encounter with Gross, he might have simultaneously succeeded – symbolically speaking – in manoeuvring his rival out of the nest of paternal favour.

In addition, Hurwitz commented on the pressure Jung was under: he was more or less treating Gross under Freud's scrutiny; from the clinic's director, Bleuler's, perspective, Jung was experimenting with a still controversial method of treatment, psychoanalysis, and, moreover, Gross was the son of a famous criminologist and a patient kept in first-class accommodation at the Burghölzli:

> Thus huge expectations and, linked with those, a feeling of powerlessness were responsible for Jung feeling an extreme constraint he could not deal with in any other way than to lay the blame on his patient [. . .]. Projection of one's own incompetence onto the other, weaker person, is a frequent and favoured mechanism even in psychiatric institutions. (Hurwitz, 1979: 150)

However, Gross did not fulfil Jung's sombre prophecy: in terms of the development of his psychoanalytic theory and practice, his most fruitful years yet lay ahead of him. In escaping what it seems he correctly perceived as a trap, set for him by his father and the psychiatrists engaged to assist him, Gross was quite clear about what he needed to do. Five years later, he explained to a further set of psychiatrists – also, in the service of his father's continuing attempts to gain control over him:

> When I realized that I was no longer being understood, I did not want to stay [at the Burghölzli]. I knew that I was listed with the diagnosis dementia praecox, and I knew that I would have no future, once the psychiatrists there would write their report. Therefore I decided to escape in any case [. . .]. I knew that friends (anarchists) who would give me money were waiting for me in Zurich. (In Berze and Stelzer, 1913: 32)

The awareness Gross expressed here of the all-encompassing impact of the diagnosis – amounting to a death sentence of his professional life and standing – brings to mind primitive sacrificial rites. Moreover, current psychoanalytic trauma-theory considers that patients are retraumatized when they are not understood in treatment (Wilkinson, 2010), and it is likely that Gross had to contend with this as well as

the death of his career. This is not meant to simplistically declare Gross a martyr, but is an interpretative effort to understand the archetypal quality of the emotional forces impacting on all involved. In my view, strongly evocative terms such as Freud's 'primal horde' or Reich's 'murder of Christ' are useful in expressing the essence of such primitive dynamics, and this frames the problem from a perspective beyond the individuals involved. However, my trans-historical approach, introduced in Chapter 1, additionally implies a retroactive healing purpose that extends to all involved.

Yet, 'In spite of everything', Jung remarks, not exclusively expressing a negative reaction to Gross terminating their work, but also grief:

> he is my friend, for at bottom he is a very good and noble man with an unusual mind [. . .]. I don't know with what feelings you will receive these news. For me this experience is one of the harshest in my life, for *in Gross I experienced only all too many aspects of my own nature, so that he often seemed like my twin brother – minus Dementia praecox*. This is tragic. You can guess what powers I have summoned up in myself in order to cure him. But in spite of the suffering, I would not have wanted to miss this experience for anything; for in the end it has given me, with the help of a unique personality, a unique insight into the nethermost depth of Dementia praecox. (Freud and Jung, 1974: 156; emph. G.H.)

Freud responded within two days:

> I have a feeling that I should thank you most extraordinarily intensively – and so I do – for the treatment of Otto Gross. The task should have fallen to me but my egoism – or perhaps I should say my self-defence – rebelled against it [. . .]. Deeply as I empathize with Otto Gross, I cannot underestimate the importance of the fact that you had to do his analysis. You could never have learned so much from another case. (Ibid.: 157–8)

If Jung was using the diagnosis of *Dementia praecox*, that is, schizophrenia, to disavow his own feelings, Freud encouraged this. Five days later, in a letter more professionally modulated, Jung discusses Gross as a case from which interesting insights might be gained into the 'term of Dementia praecox *sive* schizophrenia *sive* paranoia that is close to my heart' (ibid.: 160). Yet, he also implies just how similar he himself feels to the diagnosed pathology. After all, from Jung's memoirs, the paediatrician Winnicott later diagnosed 'childhood schizophrenia' in Jung (1964: 450). Jungian Hester Solomon concurs, speaking of 'Jung, schizoid by nature' (2003: 559), as do her colleagues, Spillmann and Strubel (2010). Another Jungian, Jeffrey Satinover, commented, 'Many of the phenomena [Jung] observed in patients were also features of his own psychology' (1985: 415). Might there have been aspects of corresponding psychodynamics at work between Freud and Gross? In the latter's addiction to cocaine, Freud would also

have encountered a shadow-part of himself which he might well have hoped to have overcome, as he had replaced his addiction to cocaine with one to cigars: 'It is possible to speculate that it was Gross's addiction to cocaine that caused resistance in Freud [to analysing him. Gross] was the waste product of their desire and therefore also the waste product of the psychoanalytic establishment' (Loose, 2002: 44). Jungian scholar Lucy Huskinson observed a very similar pattern in Jung's thoughts concerning Nietzsche:

> Jung writes in his autobiography of his 'secret fear' [Jung, 1963: 122] that he might be like Nietzsche – that is, be mad himself. [. . .] ironically, [. . .] [Jung] says: '[Nietzsche] doesn't realize when he preaches house-cleaning that it might be his own house. Everybody has to clean house because his own house is dirty. It is like those people who always talk about *weeds* in other people's gardens but never weed their own' [Jung, 1988: 1460]. (Huskinson, 2002: 3–4)

Jung's concluding report to Hans Gross, of his son's treatment at the Burghölzli signed by Bleuler, stated:

> Concerning our opinion of the mental state of your *Herr* Dr Otto Gross it is to be mentioned that Dr Jung, who carried out the special analytic treatment, has reached the conviction that it is a question of an actual mental disturbance, and one which in principle is incurable, i.e. dementia praecox. The probable development will be that pathological character traits will surface much more acutely in conjunction with actual symptoms of the mental illness, i.e. relational and persecutory ideations, possible illusions of grandeur and others, and hallucinations [. . .]. Even without assuming dem. praec., and only a severe psychopathology instead, the prognosis is rather gloomy. It is certainly to be expected that the *Herr* Doctor will be unable to sustain himself [. . .]. Without further aggravating facta, one should not proceed with an enforced internment, as such measures, if it is a case of Dementia praecox (which is highly probable), the transfer to a closed institution is to be delayed for as long as possible, since experience has shown that institutionalization usually has an adverse effect on such states [. . .]
>
> As far as his post as unpaid lecturer is concerned, it will probably have to be revoked [. . .]
>
> Unfortunately we are unable to give any further advice to you but to leave *Herr* Doctor to remain free until fate on its own creates a situation that makes institutional care unavoidable. (In Küchenhoff, 2002: 55–6)

Apparently, for Bleuler, the diagnosis of *Dementia praecox* is much less clear-cut than it appears to be for Jung. Freud also questioned Jung's diagnosis in a somewhat ambivalent way – or was it a further attempt to hide his negative feelings behind a mask of diplomacy?

> [Gross's] behaviour before the cure was completely paranoid; you forgive me the old-fashioned term, as I acknowledge in paranoia a psychological clinical type, whereas with Dem. pr. I am still unable to imagine anything precise, and the incurability is not regularly the case with Dem. pr., nor am I able to distinguish it from hysteria or an obsessional neurosis [. . .]. Now, I have no reason to doubt your diagnosis, not per se, because of your great experience with D. pr., and additionally also because often D. pr. is not really a diagnosis at all. We seem to be in agreement about the impossibility to influence the condition and the ultimate fate. But might it not be another (obsessional) psycho-neurosis with negative transference, due to the hostile relationship with the father, which can simulate a lack or slackening of the transference? Unfortunately I know too little about the mechanism of Dem. pr. or paranoia as compared to hysteria or obsessional neurosis. (Freud and Jung, 1974: 158; t.m.)

It seems almost as if Freud was attempting some of the deeper understanding I outlined earlier. Yet, from then on, Gross indeed became 'a case'. In October, Jung reported to Freud, 'His family have now accepted my diagnosis' (ibid.: 174) – as though it had not been one almost 'made-to-order', fulfilling both Hans Gross's need for control and Jung's professional ambition! Hurwitz summarizes his review of Jung's analysis as

> psychiatric diagnostics as instrument of revenge for a wrong suffered [that is, Gross's termination of the analysis], as means to justify a therapeutic failure in the service of defending against conflicts between analyst and patient, and finally psychiatric diagnostics to serve a powerful employer [that is, Hans Gross]. (2002: 75)

Hurwitz reviewed not only Jung's diagnosis, but all the available psychiatric evidence concerning Gross (Berze and Stelzer, 1913; Elzholz and Probst, 1916; et al.) and found no reason to revise his earlier conclusions about Jung's mis-diagnosis (Hurwitz 2002).

In an undated document in the Library of Congress, the anonymous author concurs with Hurwitz's evaluation, and calls Gross 'the victim of a wrong diagnosis' (Anon., n.d.a.: 8):

> Looking through Gross's case notes at the Burghölzli, nothing can be found that can be interpreted as schizophrenia in the sense of Bleuler's basic symptoms, nothing that fits the description of Dementia praecox in Kraepelin's sense. The same is true for the case notes from Mendrisio. (Ibid.: 6)

Jung's diagnosis provided the basis for a legal battle between Otto Gross and his father concerning the son's legal autonomy and his citizen's rights which his father wanted to deprive him of. This was to occupy both father and son for the rest of their respective lives. Hans Gross died in 1915, but for his son, the reverberations of

this struggle continued until his own death. During the Great War, Otto Gross was considered fit to be the head of several hospitals and hospital departments in Eastern Europe, although the military authorities were fully aware of Jung's diagnosis, and its confirmation by several other psychiatrists (see Appendix). However, Gross never again regained full citizen's rights after 1913, when they were taken from him.

In an ironic reversal of fate, in December 1912, when his own psychic sanity was begun to be questioned by Freud and his followers, Jung complained to the former: 'I am forced to the painful conclusion that the majority of ΨAsts misuse ΨA for the purpose of devaluing others and their progress by insinuations about complexes (as though that explained anything. A wretched theory!)' (Freud and Jung, 1974: 526).

There are only a few further occasions, as far as we can know from the documents accessible, where Jung referred to his experience with Gross or to the pain the latter had caused him. In an unpublished letter of February 1909, he expressed his concern to Jones:

> I believe that by openly advocating certain things, one cuts off the branch on which culture rests [. . .]. In any case the extreme which Gross preaches is definitely wrong and dangerous for the whole cause – Gross sterilizes himself, so the danger emanating from him is going to lessen. (C.G. Jung, 1909)

Strikingly, the term 'sterilize' – four years later advocated by Hans Gross for 'deviants' (1913) – belongs to the lexicon of Nazi ideology, which, albeit anticipated, suggests a similarly persecutory intolerant attitude. Is it possible that Jung is referring to the dire consequences of his diagnosis and might he be trying to hold Gross responsible for this – just as he one-sidedly seemed to have blamed him for the failure of their analysis? It is not uncommon for aggressors to blame the victim and perceive themselves as innocent: in June 1909, after his abuse of Sabina Spielrein had come to an end, Jung described to Freud, 'Gross and Spielrein are bitter experiences. To none of my patients have I extended so much friendship and from none have I reaped a similar pain' (Freud and Jung, 1974: 229). In both instances, Jung justifies himself and blames the patient – resentment prevails:

> [Spielrein] was, so to speak, my psychoanalytic test case, for which reason I remembered her with special gratitude and affection. Since I knew from experience that she would immediately relapse if I withdrew my support, the relationship continued for years and in the end I found myself morally obliged, as it were, to entrust her with a large measure of my friendship, until I saw that an unintended wheel had started turning, whereupon I finally broke with her. She was, of course, systematically planning my seduction, which I considered inopportune. Now she is seeking revenge [. . .]. What she is now planning is unknown to me. Nothing good, I suspect [. . .]. I need hardly say that I have finally made a clean break. Like Gross, she is a case of fight-the-father, which in the devil's name I was trying to cure *gratissime* (!)

> with so-and-so many hundredweights of patience, even abusing our friendship for that purpose. (Ibid.: 228–9)

Just as, without him, in Jung's imagination – or was this wishful thinking? – Gross could possibly only 'go towards the evening of his fate' (Freud and Jung, 1974: 156), Spielrein, too, can only be up to 'nothing good', expressing a negativistic view of his patient where the analysis had not brought a hoped-for outcome. Moreover, it is not clear *who* was abusing *which* friendship? Jung continues:

> On top of that, naturally, an amiable complex had to throw quite a cudgel between my legs [a phrase which, in German, means 'putting a spoke in someone's wheels'; G.H.] During the whole business of Gross's notions flitted a bit too much in my head. (Ibid.)

What might Freud's associations have been to 'the cudgel between Jung's legs'? Was there at least a flicker of a smile when he read this sentence?

A further mention of Gross by Jung in the Freud/Jung correspondence occurred later in April 1909. Again, his words indicate pain and anger. Jung's pupil Honegger has just committed suicide, and Jung comments:

> It is an evil thing that such people, marked by the gods, should be so rare and, when they exist, should be the victims of madness or an early death. Gross is an out-and-out madman, for whom Steinhof [a psychiatric institution where Gross was treated; G.H.] is a fitting sinecure [. . .]. He tries to parasitize wherever he can. (Ibid.: 416)

Thus, in the end, *Jung* accuses *Gross* of parasitism in a reversal of the facts elaborated below. Jung reacts almost like a scorned lover – with an unforgiving anger that was to last.

As far as is known today, there are only two more occasions where Jung mentioned Gross. Apparently, in late 1927 or early in the following year, the writer Werner von der Schulenburg (1881–1958), had written to Jung to ask him for financial support for Frieda Gross and her children. Only Jung's response survives, dated 22 January 1928:

> Highly esteemed *Herr Doktor*!
>
> My relations with Dr Gross were essentially of a medical nature, I have never felt personally close to him nor his wife, so that I have to regard my humanistic obligations in this respect as fulfilled. In addition, I have so many other much more immediate obligations which regrettably do not allow me to participate in a continual support of this certainly very unfortunate family.
>
> With special respect,
>
> C.G. Jung.

In another letter, Jung vents his feelings about Gross in response to a request from the psychoanalyst Fritz Wittels, who had asked from New York in December 1935:

> Dr Brill here tells me that you knew Dr Otto Gross well who died about fourteen years ago. I would like to know the following: is it correct that he suffered for years from auditory hallucinations that he did not dissimulate at all? Was he repeatedly interned in mental institutions and did you treat him? What did his genius consist of that so many who have known him talk about? And finally: what did he die of? It seems that he has had pupils and that he even practised psychoanalysis: in coffee-houses and restaurants. (Wittels, 1935)

When Hurwitz researched Gross's biography (1979), he knew of the existence of Jung's response from Jolande Jacobi, but was unable to obtain a copy (Eissler and Hurwitz, 1979/80). McGuire (1982) could only quote a few lines, and Eissler did not get permission to quote this letter either, so he could only paraphrase it in *Victor Tausk's Suicide* (1983: 179, 189). Initially, even with a written permission from Gross's daughter Templer-Kuh, the Jung heirs would only allow me a copy on the condition that I destroy it after reading. However, at the same time, I had received a copy from the Library of Congress via a colleague who wishes to remain anonymous. Unexpectedly, without any knowledge of this development, Jung's heirs changed their minds: for the first time, Jung's response to Wittels could be published (in Heuer, 2001a: 670, 681–2):

> Indeed, I have known Dr Otto Gross well. I have met him 30 years ago now, in 1906, when he was interned at the Zurich clinic for cocainism and morphinism. One cannot really say that he actually possessed the qualities of a genius, but rather an ingenious instability, which deceived many people. He practised psychoanalysis in the most notorious bars. Usually the transference affairs ended with an illegitimate child. He suffered from the most awful mother-complex that his mother has consistently nurtured in him. *He was plagued by never-ending addictions which he preferably fed with alcaloids that from time to time put him into a psychotic state*. As I never saw Gross again after 1906, I cannot say anything definite about his later life, which, by the way, lasted only for a few more years. In any case, *in 1906 he did not suffer from auditory hallucinations. He was interned twice at the Zürich Clinic where I treated him both times mainly for cocainism. He delighted in an unlimited megalomania* and always thought that he himself was treating the doctors psychically, myself included. By then already he was socially completely derelict. He never accomplished any systematic work in his life with the exception of his paper on the Secondary Functions, which contains a theory on the psychophysical restitution of incitability. I have included his main idea in my book on types. It has been taken up on occasions in various places by psychologists, for example in Holland and America. It is undoubtedly a fortunate idea that can definitely be used as an allegorical formula for certain reaction sequences. I have not observed

> any other indications of a genius in him unless one sees wisecracking and incessant chatter about problems as a creative symptom. He was morally and socially totally derelict and physically run-down, too, as a consequence of the excesses, so that he died of pneumonia already before the war, if my memory serves me correctly. At least, so I have been told. He mainly hung out with artists, writers, political dreamers and degenerates of any description, and in the swamps of Ascona he celebrated miserable and cruel orgies.
>
> I must, however, complete my very negative description after all insofar as amid all the sick entanglement that he developed, every now and then there would be a sort of flashes of brilliancy which is why I tried to do my best for him during his stay at the institution, albeit without any success whatsoever. (Jung 1936; emph. G.H.)

I have emphasized a few lines because of what they do not contain: strikingly, apart from Jung's mis-remembering the year, he relativizes his official former diagnosis of *Dementia praecox*: as he does not repeat it here: could he have become doubtful? By implication, he almost revokes it.

Might the palpable anger in Jung's concluding statements to Freud about his work with Spielrein and Gross (above), as well as – even stronger – in this letter of some 25 years later, also be fuelled by semi-conscious guilt feelings? Can it be understood, in part, as the unforgiving resentment of the perpetrator towards the victim he knows he has wronged? None of the other psychiatrists or analysts who assessed and/or treated Gross, were as condemning in their diagnosis and gloomy in their prognosis of future development as Jung was.

There is a further aspect to consider psychoanalytically: in Genesis, right at the beginning of humanity with the offspring of the first human couple, there is fratricide, brother-murder fuelled by competitive rage: Cain and Abel are competing for the love of God-the-father. The theme reverberates later in the biblical story with Jacob's cheating his brother of his birthright, the privileges of the first-born son. Indicative of a similar dynamic, in 1907, Jung complains to Freud that he is '"jealous"' (his inverted commas), of 'Dr Abraham [. . .] because he corresponds with you' (Freud and Jung, 1974: 78), and six months later, Jung feels 'impel[led] to ask [Freud] to let me enjoy your friendship not as one between equals but as that of father and son' (ibid.: 122). In his response, Freud assures Jung, 'You are really the only one capable of making an original contribution; except perhaps for Otto Gross' (ibid.: 126), confirming not only Jung's originality, but also – intentionally or unconsciously – fuelling competition between Jung and Gross for his own gratification? Jung's mis-diagnosis and subsequent attempts to write Gross out of history, might thus also be seen as having an aspect of fratricide, so that he, Jung, can remain 'the first-born', to use the biblical metaphor (see Heuer, 2006).

At the beginning of Freud and Jung's relationship, *Dementia praecox* is *the* 'hot topic', the '*diagnosis du jour*': Freud ends his second letter to Jung with 'I am eagerly awaiting your forthcoming book on Dem. praecox' (Freud and Jung, 1974: 6). This is a new development in the field of psychiatry where Jung has the greater

expertise, although Freud immediately asserts his authority by implicitly trying to usurp the subject, for he continues with, 'I must own that whenever a work such as yours or Bleuler's appears it gives me the great and to me indispensable satisfaction of knowing that the hard work of a lifetime has not been entirely in vain' (ibid.). Had Jung followed Freud's plan concerning Gross, with Jung only treating the latter's addictions, and Freud 'tak[ing] charge of him' (ibid.: 147) later, to conduct the actual analysis, the result might well have remained Freud's initial diagnosis of a 'hysteria or an obsessional neurosis' (ibid.: 158) only. Jung, as it happens, 'kills two birds with one stone': in 'a case of fight-the-father' (ibid.: 228), as he later refers to his work with Gross. Here, it is he who rebels against his 'father' of choice by snatching away from him a patient Freud himself was eager to analyse – 'the task should have fallen to me' (ibid.: 157). And in this, he uses the very psychiatric diagnosis most frequently discussed between him and Freud as an expedient weapon to dispose of Gross by diagnosing 'an actual mental disturbance, and one which in principle is incurable, i.e. dementia praecox' necessitating, with high probability, 'enforced internment' and 'the transfer to a closed institution internment in a closed institution' (Jung, in Küchenhoff, 2002: 55–6). Jung succeeds with his strategy and he emerges as the victor in a war of succession in the dynasty of psychoanalysis: less than four months later, in mid-October 1908, Freud addresses him with, 'My dear friend and heir' (Freud and Jung, 1974: 172), and half a year later declares, 'I formally adopted you as my eldest son and anointed you [. . .] as my successor and crown prince' (ibid.: 218). Some 25 years later, just after the Nazis had publicly burnt Freud's books, Jung can reach for the crown itself by joining the new powers in their condemnation of Freud on Radio Berlin in 1933 – psychologically speaking, thus adding patricide to the earlier fratricide.

However, taking the reality of the unconscious for granted, might there be a move towards reconciliation in a different dimension? In December 2013, working on this text, I dreamt that Jung had interviewed me about Gross. This had been filmed, and now Jung was about to ask more questions about Gross, and clearly wanted to find out more. Unfortunately, there are no further details. However, from a trans-historical perspective, even this fragment might point towards a rapprochement.

Gross's influence on Jung's life and psychology

In this section the focus will be on working out the most important aspects of Gross's influence on Jung. Most of these were never acknowledged by Jung, or, in a highly unethical move, deleted in later editions after an initial acknowledgement.

Individuation

At the First International Congress for Psychiatry, Psychology, and the Assistance to the Insane held in Amsterdam in 1907, both Jung and Gross presented and defended Freud's theories. After the congress, Jung mentioned to Freud 'a long talk

with [Gross]' (ibid.: 85). Only a short time later, mid-way between the Amsterdam Congress and the Salzburg Congress, and thus some six months before his intensive encounter with Jung in the sometimes mutual analysis of June 1908, Gross passionately outlined to Jaffé the goals of his psychoanalytic work:

> I have nothing else to "teach" but forever this one issue – that only through recognizing one's own development can the individuality truly free itself. Indeed, thus in the individual case that is fulfilled what I have to do in my vocation: to free the essential personal style of the individual from all that is alien, destructive, contradictory. – Else, the empowering force, the passion behind this activity can only be joy in individuals, joy in the beauty inherent in each completed personality. To love this vocation in particular – that means to love every individuality according to their selfhood [. . .]. Else, you know well how this area of work has defined itself for my plans. That great individual current, in which I believe today all movements converge to push towards the same goal. – "Psychologism" [that is, psychology; G.H.] is but a name for the modern demand to respect the psychological [response (?)] of the individual soul to any pressure from the outside world and its norms. Whatever has so far been neglected by any norm, any religion, any law – what each individual so far "did not dare to know within themselves" vis-à-vis the suggestion of the "absolute" – what presently is being raised to the light of day from the grave of the "unconscious" – to bring to bear that which is most individual in each soul, that, after all, is my vocation and my philosophy . . . [. . .]. (Gross, 1907/08; all emphases and punctuation marks as in the original)

This elaboration of individuality and self preconceives what Jung would later call 'individuation', and the goal of analysis. However, Jung himself did not come up with these terms before 1913. Gross had studied Kropotkin, who introduced the concept 'individualisation' (Kropotkin, 1970: 285; see Chapter 5) in 1905. Gross's psychoanalytic understanding and application of Kropotkin's 'individualisation' may well have been one of the subjects discussed in their 'long talk', and thus been instrumental for ideas Jung developed later.

In his letter, Gross continues:

> I know what binds me to people, that is exactly that which is their most personal – that is their very own deepest individuality, that can never be lost, that can never be named in words, which can never be grasped in concepts – the rhythm that vibrates within a human life, in all playful movement of the body, and every involuntary expression of passing feeling, the indestructible essence that cannot change itself . . . . (Gross, 1907/08)

Clearly, there is a close correspondence between Gross's insistence on what he called *das Eigene* (one's own), 'the development of individuality and insight into one's own individuality' (ibid.) and Jung's later notions of individuation – as

well as, much later, Winnicott's concept of the true self. Already in 1902, Gross speaks of 'individual-psychology' (1902: 12): 'Not sexuality is his subject, but *individuation'* (Müller, 1998: 18; emph. G.H.). Importantly, Gross not only introduces here a term near-identical to the one later deployed by Jung, but also precedes him in rethinking Freud's emphasis on sexuality. Gross advocated 'the realization of self-liberation through self-knowledge' (1919c). As we know from Mühsam's 1909 letter quoted from earlier, Gross developed a psychoanalytic perspective in which the goal of the treatment was an individuation not just of and for the individual, but one which aspired to a life where individual and collective were no longer in opposition to each other but harmoniously coexisted in way that also included the religious dimension. Only much later, in 1922/23, Jung would echo Gross:

> No individual can exist without individual relationship, and that is how the foundation of your church is laid. Individual relations lay the form of the invisible church [. . .] a religion [. . .] consists [. . .] at its visible level in a new ordering of human affairs. (In Shamdasani, 2009: 211)

However, there is an important difference between Gross's and Jung's conceptualizations: in spite of Jung's speaking of 'individual relationship', and stressing, elsewhere, that the self is 'an empirical concept and not a philosophical or theological formulation' (Samuels et al., 1986: 135), as 'an archetypal IMAGE' (ibid.), the Jungian self as well as what he understands as individuation, are much more abstract concepts, depersonalized, and do concern more the individual psyche. Subsequently, also the numinous link to the 'GOD-IMAGE' (ibid.) does neither appear grounded in the body nor in any personal experience of relating. In addition, this process cannot happen without suffering (Fordham, 1991: 77): for Jung, it is an arduous journey towards the self. Similarly, in Gross's early letter, the self in its continuing formation is understood as an ongoing process closely resembling individuation. Yet, by contrast, for Gross, this can simply be perceived and related to by the other: it appears as an a priori given, almost, from today's perspective, in a Levinasian sense (and I shall show, below, a link from Gross to Levinas). This results in a relational healing as we perceive in each other that which is unchanging yet forever unfolding. In this Grossian understanding, healing emerges from interrelating rather from getting overly drawn into the other's suffering. Echoing Friedrich Schiller's (1759–1805) 'Man only plays when he is in the fullest sense of the word a human being, and he is only fully a human being when he plays' (2006; t.m.), Gross describes the capacity for play as well as for enjoyment, 'joy in individuals, joy in the beauty inherent in each completed personality', as defining components of individuation. This pre-dates the above-quoted summary of Gross's theories by Mühsam, concluding with: 'It should be our task to heal not only the sexual "complexes" but maybe even more the social and the religious ones, to help the individual develop a sense of community and to re-experience the buried beauty of the world' (2000: 10–11). Gross's inclusion of play and beauty

invokes the poetic grace of Hafiz's 'The true kingdom comes to you without any breaking of bones' (in Moyers, 2007).

Sexuality and society

Both Gross and Jung questioned the central role Freud ascribed to sexuality in the aetiology of neuroses. Whilst critical of Gross's approach to and understanding of sexuality, and what he called the 'sexual revolution', Jung's attitude was highly ambivalent. But his contact with Gross seems to have radicalized him: Jung appears to have been intrigued and influenced. After the Amsterdam Congress, he confided to Freud that he envied Eitingon (1881–1943) for 'the unrestrained abreaction of his polygamous instincts' (Freud and Jung, 1974: 90), and continued:

> Dr Gross has told me that he quickly removes the transference to the physician since he turns people into sexual immoralists. The transference to the physician and its persistent fixation is but a symbol of monogamy and therefore causes a symptom of repression. The truly healthy state for the neurotic is sexual immorality [. . .]. It seems to me, however, that sexual repression is a very important and indispensable civilizing factor, even if pathogenic for many inferior people. Still, there must always be some unwholesomeness in the world. What else is civilization but the fruit of adversities. It seems to me that Gross, together with the Moderns, is getting too far into the teaching of the sexual short-circuit, which is neither intelligent, nor in good taste, but merely convenient, and therefore anything but a civilizing factor. (Ibid.: t.m.)

Did Jung fear himself to belong to the 'inferior people' for whom 'sexual repression [was] pathogenic', and hence succumbed to the 'unwholesomeness in the world' in his relationships with women, for whom he would have been an authority figure, whether formally patients or not (Bair, 2004: 708, n46)?

A conceptual split between sexuality and culture, where both are seen as almost mutually exclusive was to remain a lifelong problem for Freud and Jung, as well as Gross. Conceptually, Gross saw a solution by turning to pre-modern, archaic times, and striving 'to revive the cult of Astarte' (F. Jung, 1921a: 197), envisioning a culture in harmony with sexuality and nature per se. After his sometimes mutual analysis with Gross, Jung became also intrigued by the matriarchal religions of the Near East, and their ecstatic rites, and wrote about them extensively (1952). In 1910, he suggested to Freud:

> We must [. . .] transform Christ back into the soothsaying God of the vine, which he was, and in this way absorb those ecstatic instinctual forces of Christianity for the one purpose of making the cult and the sacred myth what they once were – a drunken feast of joy where man regained the ethos and holiness of an animal. (Freud and Jung, 1974: 294)

As I have shown elsewhere (Heuer, 2009: 72–4), according to what we know about how Gross and Jung lived their sexual desires, it is difficult from today's perspective to differentiate what they regarded as sexual liberation from traditional male, that is, patriarchal, pornographic fantasies. Certainly, the polygamy they actually lived, appears to have been no more than an acting out of such fantasies, considering the documented sufferings of the women concerned – Frieda Gross, Sophie Benz, Emma Jung, Sabina Spielrein, Toni Wolff, to name but a few. Whether today's polygamous experimentations can offer a genuine alternative, where loving intimacy can continue to deepen, remains to be seen: the challenge of Gross's concept of a truly sexually affirmative culture persists.

In 1908, during Jung and Gross's analysis, Jung's patient Spielrein wrote in her diary, 'Now [Jung] arrives, beaming with pleasure, and tells me with strong emotion about Gross, about the great insight he has just received (i.e. about polygamy); he no longer wants to suppress his feeling for me' (in Carotenuto, 1984: 107). Obviously, Jung welcomed Gross's critique of monogamy. Two years later, he claimed, 'The prerequisite for a good marriage [. . .] is the license to be unfaithful' (Freud and Jung 1974: 289). Late in life, Jung justified his patriarchal – and misogynist – attitude:

> Basically speaking [. . .] man is polygamous. The people of the Mussulman Empire knew that very well. Nevertheless, marrying several women at the same time is a primitive solution, and would be rather expensive today. I think the French have found the solution in the Number Three. (In Serrano, 1997: 73)

Jung seems to have lived accordingly:

> When Sabina Spielrein had barely left the stage [. . .], a new arrival came on the scene, the twenty-three-year-old Toni Wolff [. . .], who became Jung's patient because of a severe depression after the sudden death of her father in 1909, and only two years later [. . .], took part in the Weimar Congress of Psychoanalysts. (Wehr, 1988: 143)

Jung had looked forward to this congress:

> This time the feminine element will have conspicuous representation from Zürich: Sister Moltzer, Dr Hinkle-Eastwick (a charming American), *Frl*. Dr Spielrein (!), then a new discovery of mine, *Frl*. Antonia Wolff, a remarkable intellect with an excellent feeling for religion and philosophy, and last but not least, my wife. (Freud and Jung 1974: 440; t.m.)

However, Jung did not confine his interest to Wolff's intellect:

> Reconstructing the details of the affair between Jung and Antonia Wolff is very difficult, for Jung later burned all his correspondence with her. [. . .]

> Yet it is probable that the liaison followed on logically from the treatment, as was often the case with Jung's female patients, and was well under way by 1910; certainly by the time of the Weimar Congress in September it was widely known that Jung and Wolff were lovers of long standing. (McLynn, 1997: 166)

From today's ethical perspective, McLynn's – probably not unjustified – phrasing of 'the liaison followed on *logically* from the treatment' (emph. G.H.) is rather chilling. Yet even then, Jung was acutely aware that his transgressions towards Spielrein, (and later Wolff and others), were ethically unsound, as is clear from the way he expressed himself to Freud about the Spielrein 'business' (Freud and Jung, 1974: 229).

Jungian Elphis Christopher considers the inherent irony of Jung, who thought sex less important, succumbing 'in a shameful, humiliating way' (1993: 14), while Freud, who thought sex to be all-important, does not seem to have done likewise with patients, but seems to have lived out this aspect of his sexuality with his wife's sister. Gross appears to have served as a role model for Jung's emotional and sexual relations with women – although Gross never went as far as suggesting rape. Occasionally, Jung also seems to have imitated Gross in prescribing lovers to his patients, as in the highly emotionally charged, and sadomasochistically abusive triangular relationship between the psychologist Henry Murray, Jung's patient Christiana Morgan and Jung (Douglas, 1993: 163–7).

The significance of the father (I)

Whilst working with Gross in 1908, Jung reported to Freud, 'the analysis has yielded all sorts of scientifically beautiful results, which *we* aim to formulate soon' (Freud and Jung, 1974: 153; emph. G.H.). One of these concerns 'The significance of the father in the destiny of the individual' (Jung, 1909a), published a year later. In the introduction, Jung summarized:

> The significance of the father in moulding the child's psyche may be discovered in [. . .] the study of the family. The latest investigations show the predominant influence of the father's character in a family, often lasting for centuries. The mother seems to play a less important role. If this is true of heredity, we may expect it to be true also of the psychological influences emanating from the father. (Ibid.: 303–4; emph. 1st edn)

Jung continued, 'These experiences, and those gained more particularly in an analysis carried out jointly with Dr Otto Gross, have impressed upon me the soundness of this view' (ibid.), a view, we might add, which owes more to Gross than anything Jung had formulated previously. Jung's statement remained unchanged in the 1927 second edition, yet, strikingly, is omitted in the 1948 third edition. Jung begins his introduction to this final edition:

> This essay was written nearly forty years ago, but this time I did not want to publish it in its original form. Since that time so many things have changed and taken on a new face that I felt obliged to make a number of corrections and additions to the original text. (Ibid.: 302)

However, one fact which certainly remained unchanged is that this essay was based on joint work with Gross, as originally stated. Did reviewing this text still raise problems for Jung, and were his negative feelings regarding Gross, expressed to Wittels in the mid-1930s, still persisting? In addition to his earlier damning diagnosis, Jung falsified the historical record, by deleting Gross's name to claim single authorship, which amounts to a *damnatio memoriae*. In the English edition of Jung's *Collected Works*, the statement survives at least in the form of a footnote quoting the deleted passage (ibid.). However, even this is missing from the German edition (G.W. 4: 352). In 1939, Freud evocatively declared, 'In its implications, the distortion of a text resembles a murder: the difficulty is not in perpetrating the deed, but in getting rid of its traces' (1939: 43).

Surveying Gross's work, Franz Jung commented:

> The well-known psychoanalyst Jung (Burghölzli) even left out the dedication and thanks in the text on the father complex in the fate of the individual on which his importance rests, although it is known well enough in the scientific world that this text, almost dictated, one might say, just expresses Gross's thoughts and conclusions. (1921a: 188)

This suggests that there may well have been earlier published versions of this text following its first edition in 1909, which also omitted Gross's name, and before 1921, when Franz Jung pointed to C.G. Jung's crime.

Dementia praecox*/schizophrenia*

Already, ten years earlier in 1911, Gross himself had apparently complained to Freud, who then passed on to Jung:

> A bit of news that you will be able to deal with [. . .]. Otto Gross has turned up. He has written a reverential letter to me [. . .], *urgently* requesting that I publish an enclosed paper *as soon as possible*. This, most untidily scribbled in pencil, is entitled, 'In my own Cause. Concerning the so-called Bleuler-Jung School', and it contains two accusations: that Bleuler stole the term Dementia sejunctiva from him and presented it as schizophrenia, and that your article 'The significance of the father etc.' was derived from statements he made to you in the course of his analysis. Nothing more.
>
> I have answered, declining to publish his piece. I told him that I have always disliked disputes over priority (complexive symptom!), that the first

> item was a trifling matter of terminology, while the second involved a discovery that everyone can make for himself; that I myself never laid claims to ideas I had dropped in conversation; and that he had no need of such recriminations because his originality was recognized by all, including the two of you. (Freud and Jung, 1974: 414; t.m.)

Apart from the fact that it is highly surprising to read how Freud, for whom disputes over the priority of ideas have played such an important role throughout his life, dismisses the issue as soon it concerns another author, he does allude to a further instance of intellectual theft: Eugen Bleuler's unacknowledged appropriation of Gross's insight into the nature of schizophrenia. In his 1904 paper, 'On the disintegration of consciousness', Gross had suggested:

> Dementia präcox [. . .] may well be the only illness in which the disintegration of consciousness, the *Sejunktion* [splitting] κατ' έξοχήν [par excellence], coincides with a tendency toward chronic imbecility. If one understands the splitting in the sense explained here, then K r a e p e l i n ' s illness appears to be defined by the coincidence of dementia and splitting [. . .]. Now, certainly the unfortunate choice of the name 'Dementia präcox' is a major obstacle to a broader use of this almost redeeming clinical term.
>
> I therefore suggest the term D e m e n t i a s e j u n c t i v a . (1904a: 76; t.m.)

In the same year, Gross devoted a separate paper to his reasons for suggesting this new term (1904b). Grounds for his complaint to Freud was the fact that *Dementia praecox* translates as 'adolescent madness', whereas *Dementia sejunctiva* means 'split-off madness'. Bleuler's term 'schizophrenia', coined in 1908, is nothing else than the translation of Gross's Latin term into Greek. Thus Gross's claim to have introduced the concept of split-offness into the formulation of the term was justified. His insight actually anticipated current understanding of trauma-based mental illness: according to neurological research, trauma does result in a *splitting* of neural pathways. Bleuler did acknowledge Gross's contributions to the exploration of *Dementia praecox* (1911: 5, 162, 296, 403)—but did not credit him for having been the first to conceive of this pathology as splitting.

In 1979, Bleuler's son, then 76, took up the argument again, defending his father against Gross's accusations (in Hurwitz, 2002: 19–20). Could he have been aware of how he was echoing Freud's dismissal of Gross's complaint almost literally? He asked Hurwitz:

> do you know what my father would have said if I could have shown him this letter? He would have said: 'How can you waste your time over questions of

> priority! It is absolutely irrelevant whether Gross or I have coined the term schizophrenia!' He did not like the setting of priorities. (Ibid.: 20)

In 1911, Jung reacted rather emotionally to the 'bit of news' from Freud:

> Gross is an out-and-out madman, for whom Steinhof is a fitting sinecure. He would be better employed on something productive instead of writing polemics. Infringement of priority is out of the question, since the passage in my paper mentioning Gross was the formula we agreed on. Furthermore he was perfectly free to use his ideas himself and if he didn't that's his affair. He tries to parasitize wherever he can. (Freud and Jung, 1974: 416; t.m.)

Just as in his earlier attempts to justify his abuse of Spielrein, Jung again turns the tables and accuses the victim of being the perpetrator. Was it his need to deny the truth which caused him to respond so emotionally?

It is noteworthy that, in 1987, John Cutting and M. Shepherd included Gross's 'On the nomenclature Dementia sejunctiva' (1904b) in their work *The Clinical Roots of the Schizophrenia Concept*.

The significance of the father (II)

There are echoes of the rupture between Jung and Gross in the break between Jung and Freud. The father/son dynamics between all three men ultimately dominated their respective relating with each other. In psychodynamic terms, the father-role Jung had usurped in his initially fraternal relationship with Gross, changed into that of devoted son vis-à-vis Freud. Was Jung 'protesting too much', as it were, when, in a letter from early 1913, he underlined, 'Freud is not my father' (Jung and Ferenczi, 1910–13)? Decades later, Jung still vividly recalled the situation, well worth quoting in detail, as in concentrated form it contains all the aspects of the dynamics of what might be called an unhealed father-wound in both Freud and Jung, with strong reverberations in Jung's relationship with Gross, which had ended so painfully. In childhood, all three men had been traumatized and sexually abused: Freud by his actual father (Freud, 1985: 264), Jung, disappointed in his father, in his teens by an adult male family friend (Freud and Jung, 1974: 95), and Gross by his parents by having to witness their sex-life (in Berze and Stelzer, 1999/2000: 25). From an analytic perspective, an unfulfilled longing for a loving father, linked with a terror of being traumatized anew, is apparent in all three. The final break between Freud and Jung was foreshadowed in a key situation during their 1909 journey to the United States, just a year after Jung's initial experience of a mutual analysis with Gross; Jung describes a very similar analytic situation between him and Freud: 'We were together every day and analysed each other's dreams' (1963: 181). As with Gross, Jung reached an intimate moment with Freud in which the longings of

both men – in Grossian terms, their 'will to relating' – were replaced by fear and mistrust, ultimately destroying their relationship.

Walking the streets of New York together, Freud lost his bladder-control, and had to return to their hotel (Bair, 2004: 163, quoting from Jung's 1953 interview with K. Eissler). Jung remembered having said:

> Professor, now let me tell you with the greatest respect . . . everyone knows after all that you are extremely ambitious.
>
> FREUD: Me! [Jung's emphasis] Ambitious? Anything but that!
> JUNG: Yes, and thus, blind! [. . .] I will analyse you!
> FREUD: I would be overjoyed! Good! So, do try it then!
>
> [. . .] Freud changed his clothes, and they began once again to analyse his dreams. Jung's account continued: 'I was able to do it because I was the crown prince after all [. . .] and there were very personal matters, very delicate things.'
>
> Because this was the first time in their mutual analysis that Freud confessed so freely, Jung stopped it to advise him that he needed to decide whether he wanted to continue in such an intimate vein. He recalled how Freud sat silently for very long time and then said, almost in a whisper, 'My dear boy, I cannot risk my authority.'
>
> The "delicate", "personal" material concerned Freud's alleged sexual relationship with his sister-in-law, which Jung claimed to have known about ever since Minna Bernays [Freud's sister-in-law] confided in him on his first visit to Vienna. [. . .] Jung was offended by Freud's response, first because he refused to go further just as they were approaching the most important part of the analysis, but mostly because Freud had addressed him as if he were a callow, presumptuous youth instead of according him the respect due to an analyst who had earned his well-deserved reputation. (Ibid.: 164)

For Jung, Freud's refusal to risk his authority was precisely the moment in which 'he lost it altogether' (Jung, 1963: 182). This foreshadowed the end of their relationship. Just over a year after Jung's encounter with Gross and their experience of a mutual analysis, Freud – contrary to what had been agreed upon between them earlier – *refused* to participate fully in just such an equal exchange. In the context of Gross having 'seemed like my twin brother' to Jung (Freud and Jung, 1974: 156), it is noteworthy that Solomon comments, 'Freud was incapable of regarding [Jung] as anything other than a twin, a psychical double [. . .] from whom there could be no separation, no difference, and, therefore, no revisions to psychoanalytic theory' (2003: 565–6).

Jung's unresolved father complex in relation to Freud has been cited as an important aspect of his anti-Semitism (Slochower, 1981). It is interesting to note here that when Ferenczi almost twenty years later suggested a mutual analysis to Freud, the latter again declined (Freud and Ferenczi, 2000: 249–54). 'In his

behaviour, Fr[eud] plays only the role of the castrating god', Ferenczi recorded in his diary (1995: 188).

Psychological types

Jung did appropriately acknowledge Gross's influence on his concept of *Psychological Types* (1920). Gross's early work was one of the sources on which Jung based his differentiation of the introverted and extraverted character types. Gross had first formulated these ideas some twenty years earlier in his book *The Cerebral Secondary Function* (1902a). He used this term for a mental function first explicated in the previous year, where he described creative thought processes as chains of associations, fanning out via our nerve fibres (1901a). Gross argued that thoughts do not necessarily follow pathways predetermined by previous experience. Hence, potentially, there is an 'unlimited variety', an 'infinity' (ibid: 5) of psychic facts. The chain of associations that thoughts *do* follow is a question of choice based on affects. However, there is an internal mechanism preventing associations going in random directions, thus preserving a sense of meaning. Having initially called this the 'post-function', Gross later termed it 'secondary function'. He specified, 'I call the action of a neural or cortical element [. . .] which means the appearance of an idea in consciousness, P r i m a r y F u n c t i o n and the activity following it S e c o n d a r y F u n c t i o n ' (1902a: 38; t.m.). In addition, he considered this concept on a cellular level, and assumed that the metabolism may have an effect on the intensity and duration of the Secondary Function. He thus linked psychology with physiology and observed that changes in the intensity of the Secondary Function create

> well defined and typical changes in consciousness. T h e i n t e n s i f i c a t i o n o f t h e S e c o n d a r y F u n c t i o n c o r r e s p o n d s t o a n a r r o w i n g a n d e v e n t u a l l y a d e e p e n i n g o f c o n s c i o u s n e s s a n d a w e a k e n i n g o f t h e S e c o n d a r y F u n c t i o n c o r r e s p o n d s t o a s h a l l o w i n g a n d e v e n t u a l l y b r o a d e n i n g o f c o n s c i o u s n e s s . (Ibid.: 41; t.m.)

This is one of the first formulations of ideas that in Jung's psychology were to become the concept of two basic psychological types, the differentiation between introvert and extravert. Gross defined the two types: 'We have seen that [. . .] [the two basic types] can be traced back to the s h a l l o w - b r o a d e n e d and the n a r r o w e d - d e e p e n e d consciousness', and this in turn to a ' h a b i t u a l d e c r e a s e o r i n c r e a s e o f t h e S e c o n d a r y F u n c t i o n ' (ibid.: 65; t.m.). McGuire's rendering of 'Gross's hypothesis of two psychological types, representing the primary and secondary function' (Freud

and Jung, 1974: 85, n5), misrepresents the concept, as for Gross the different types are based on changes *within* the Secondary Function. Gross defined:

> For the s h a l l o w - b r o a d e n e d consciousness we have found in the symptomatology: prompt grasp and quick, immediate utilization of external stimuli, presence of mind, cleverness and courage; defective capacity for creating larger conceptualisations, particularly in an ethical and social respect, incapacity for a deepening; intense, volatile affects, a levelling of intensely felt ideas; affective lack of criticism.
>
> For the n a r r o w - d e e p e n e d consciousness we have found: Impeded grasp of and dealing with external stimuli, especially when numerous and disparate, embarrassment, impractical nature; dissolution of the intellectual personality into single, large conceptualizations that are tightly cohesive, extensive and profoundly deepened in themselves, yet between them are inadequately linked associatively; long-lasting affects, tendency toward overvaluing keenly felt ideas; affective lack of criticism. (1902a: 65; t.m.)

In his authoritative paper on Gross's influence on psychiatry, Turnheim commented:

> With an utterly simple terminology (changes between two functions; contrast between diffuse and circumscript as well as acute and chronic disturbances), Gross tries to explain the nosological units of contemporary psychiatry more or less in its entirety [. . .]. By making the potential links between ideas (i.e. in the last analysis linguistic elements) the pivotal point of his explanation, Gross arrives at a conception of psychopathology that partly anticipates later attempts of applied linguistics. (1993: 79–80)

The birth of intersubjectivity

With good reason, the development towards relational psychoanalysis has been called a 'paradigm shift' (Brandell: 2010: 70). This refers to the change from Freud's initial one-person-psychology, where the focus was solely on the patient, to a two-person-psychology, where the analyst is given equal consideration. This follows on from the ideas of both Gross and Reich, a fact usually not acknowledged. Current, relational therapists speak of a 'two-person-plus-psychology', to indicate that their concern reaches beyond the analytic couple to include 'context-related, social, ecological/bio-spherical' issues (Tudor, 2011).

Psychoanalyst Shaw speaks of 'the prominence of the "relational turn" [Greenberg and Mitchell, 1983] in psychoanalysis—a revolution that has kept the concept of intersubjectivity at the forefront of psychoanalytic theory [. . .] for more than 30 years' (2013: 3). Actually, from the perspective of this study, this revolution started well over a hundred years ago, and was initiated by Gross in his mutual analyses, initially with his friends and associates, later with Jung. However, because this influence remained unacknowledged by Jung, it can only indirectly

be traced back to his initial experience of their analytic exchange, and can only be inferred from the way Jung conceptualized *The Psychology of the Transference* (1946a). Thus this early root of the concept of intersubjectivity is as yet unknown to psychoanalysis.

One of the most important issues in the development of psychoanalytic ideas – Jung was to pronounce them 'the alpha and omega of the analytic method' (ibid.: 172) – was the gradual development of, at first, the concept of transference and, later, that of countertransference. The latter was initially understood as the response of the analyst to the transference of his/her patient. In those early years, the analyst was assumed to be 'free' of transference-feelings, as he – predominantly a man – was understood to have been so thoroughly (self-)analysed as to have no further remaining neurotic feelings to project. As has been well documented, transference initially was seen as a hindrance, and only much later as a valuable tool. A similar process evolved in the discovery of the countertransference. Eventually, this led to developments such as Lang's communication-theory approach in which everything that happens in the analytic session, regardless of whether it originates from analysand or analyst, can be understood as transferential communication and the analysis is subsequently seen as an interactive field. From this perspective, the term 'countertransference' loses its original meaning, since both participants enter the analysis with transferences and respond to those of the other with their respective countertransferences. Only comparatively recently, Freudian analysts have come to use the term 'intersubjectivity' to describe this mode of perceiving the analytic process; 'relational psychoanalysis' is another term.

However, the earliest formulation of this overall perspective was developed by Jung from the late 1920s onwards during his study of alchemical texts. In his final formulation, he portrayed the analytic process as a dialectical exchange between equals (ibid.: 221) (Figure 6).

Based on alchemical imagery, the Latin terms clinically stand for the analyst and his/her unconscious, and the patient and his/her unconscious. The uniformly double-headed arrows indicate the reciprocal routes of interpersonal communication, conscious and unconscious, as well as intrapersonally between the conscious and unconscious of either. What Jung formulated in this diagram may well be his most important contribution to clinical work. He seems to have been the first to drop the term 'countertransference' from his understanding of analytic interrelating, and only speaks of transference(s). Already in 1931, he conceptualized a dialectics:

> For two personalities to meet is like mixing two different chemical substances: if there is any combination at all, both are transformed. In any effective psychological treatment the doctor is bound to influence the patient; but this influence can only take place if the patient has a reciprocal influence on the doctor. (1931: 71)

Echoing Nietzsche's 'However far man may extend himself with his knowledge, [. . .] – ultimately he reaps nothing but his own biography' (1878), Jung stated,

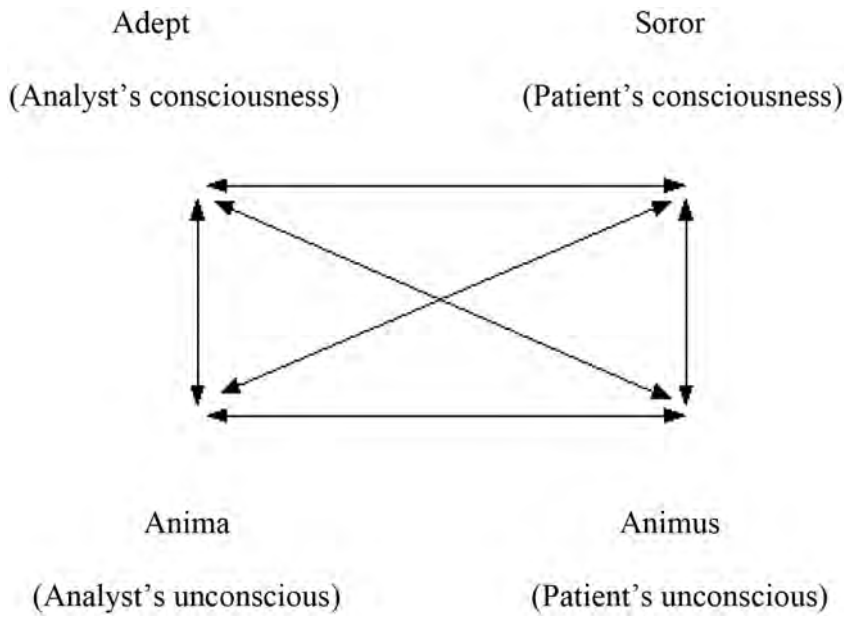

FIGURE 6 C.G. Jung's transference diagram, adapted from 1946a: 221.

'every psychological theory [is] in the first instance [. . .] subjective confession' (1934: 540). It is therefore not inappropriate to ask what might be Jung's 'subjective confession' clothed in and underpinning his *Psychology of the Transference* (1946a).

Twenty years before he started his study of alchemical texts, Jung experienced a *mutual analysis between equals* with Gross – corresponding exactly to what he conceptualized decades later. How deeply this affected him is apparent from him writing at the time: 'in Gross I discovered many aspects of my own nature, so that he often seemed like a twin brother' (Freud and Jung, 1974: 156). The closely intimate (twin-)sibling interrelationship Jung had with Gross is echoed in the terms he used decades later to describe and unravel the clinical implications of the alchemical treatises where he correspondingly found the relational experience of the alchemist and his or her 'other' described in sibling-terms.

In an individual analysis, important issues may often initially emerge from the unconscious in the form of enactments, before being consciously grasped and integrated. Although Jung does not mention Gross in this context, the shared analysis between him and Gross appears to have been such a seminal enactment, an acting-out which, in time, led to Jung's differentiated and integrated conceptual understanding of the transference/countertransference interaction as a mutual process in which both partners are engaged as equals.

What was a first experience for Jung, Gross had already almost routinely practised for years with his friends. Gross mediated ideas whose evolution can be traced from the early anarchist concepts of Proudhon's mutuality and Kropotkin's

Mutual Aid (1902), to Jung's model of dialectic communication (see Chapter 5). Philosopher Jürgen Habermas's concept of 'the ideal speech situation' – developed much later – echoes Jung's model. It is defined as 'the model of an ideal communicative interaction in the sense of a generally and completely realized discourse' (Figal, 1992: 381). Habermas mentions neither Jung nor Gross, nor any of the anarchist thinkers, although clearly his aim corresponds to that of his theoretical predecessors when he explains that in this 'ideal speech situation [. . .] the structure of language itself contains the anticipation of a form of life in which truth, freedom and justice are possible' (in Held, 1995: 256). In 1990, philosopher Kuno Lorenz speaks of 'self-definition as the experience of oneself in the other' (1990: 130 – 131).

For Freudians, divorced from Jungian thought since 1913, it took almost a further half-century before they formulated corresponding concepts. Here the pioneers – by this time Ferenczi had been branded a to-be-ignored outcast – were D.W. Winnicott (1947), Heinrich Racker (1948), Paula Heimann (1950), and Robert Fliess, who conceived of the transference of the patient as a reaction to the analyst's countertransference (1953). In 1949, Harold Searles was venturing in a similar direction, but was refused publication of his ideas, then still regarded as unacceptable (1978–79: 165). These psychoanalysts began their work in this area *after* Jung's radical diagram from the mid-1940s. Only from the late 1980s onwards did Freudians develop similar concepts, which they call 'intersubjectivity' (Stolorow et al., 1987; Dunn, 1995). Neither Gross nor Jung were mentioned, nor, initially, Ferenczi. A reappraisal of the latter coincided with a 'Ferenczi renaissance' (Giampieri-Deutsch, 1996: 228), which had begun with the publication of his *Clinical Diary* in the late 1980s (Ferenczi, 1995). Only then, with hindsight, could his experiments with mutuality in analysis in the late 1920s and early '30s be discussed and appreciated, so that Ferenczi was called 'the first intersubjectivist' (Szecsödy, 2007; see below). Pontalis points out that 'in order to be able to experience and recognize that which is other in ourselves [the German translation uses the same term as Gross, *das Fremde*] we need another other [*einen Fremden*]' (Pontalis, 1992: 73) – using the very terms Gross had employed over ninety years earlier (1901a).

Jung, of course, would not necessarily have needed Gross to become aware of the importance of the relationship between self and other. From the very beginnings of philosophy originates a long dialectical tradition starting with Heraclitus, Plato and the Stoics. Already, around 100 CE, Epictetus stated that 'to mature is nothing more than learning about what is our own and what is the other's' (in Dvorak, 1996: 406). Kant used the opposites of 'Autonomy' and 'Heteronomy', influencing Hegelian and Marxist dialectics (Papadopoulos, 1984: 56), which, in turn, combined with Proudhon's concept of mutuality, impressed Kropotkin (see Chapter 5). Jung was certainly aware of this tradition, but it appears that the encounter with Gross and his ideas emphasized the importance of the relation between self and other for him. Jungian Papadopoulos noted, 'in psychology this concept has received relatively little attention' (ibid.), and only mentions Lacan's

work in this context, 'where its place is prominent' (ibid.). Yet Gross was the first psychoanalyst to make the dialectics between self and other the central focus of both his analytic theory and his clinical practice. Interestingly, a number of Lacanian analysts are the only ones to date to refer to Gross as a psychoanalytic theorist (Tendlarz and Palomera, 1987; Loose, 1999, 2002).

Concerning Jung, Papadopoulos observes:

> [He] never presented an explicit and systematic theory of the Other as such, although it will here be argued that not only was it implicit in his entire opus, but the constant quest for formulating such an adequate theory of the Other [. . .] was one of his central motivating forces throughout. Nevertheless Jung did use the term 'other' in his writings, and referred to it in all his theoretical formulations. (1984: 56)

Jung did indeed use the term in his writings, but initially only in 1917. Interestingly, in this text, the subject comes up in connection with 'the will to power' (Jung, 1917: 35). Here, Jung refers extensively to Nietzsche as well as Adler – but not to Gross, although the following might almost be a quotation from the latter: 'Where love rules, there is no will to power and where power predominates, love is lacking' (ibid.: 58). Papadopoulos's claim that Jung referred to 'the term "other" [. . .] in all his theoretical formulations' (1984: 56), seems exaggerated: the entries in the *General Index* to 'the other' take less than half a column (*CW* 20: 504). However, Jung used the term more frequently later on in the 1930s, a time during which he was working on the ideas culminating in his *Psychology of the Transference* and the diagram above. Later, these considerations led Jung to state, 'Where there is no "other", or it does not yet exist, all possibility of consciousness ceases' (1950: 193).

Papadopoulos links the issues concerning the Other with those of the father – implicitly in terms of the Other, explicitly in terms of the father – both of which were brought into sharper focus for Jung in his encounter with Gross and intensively worked on in the period leading to his split from Freud (Papadopoulos, 1984:76), simultaneously the time of his most intense contact with Gross.

Whilst the capacity to relate became the goal of Gross's therapeutic efforts, Fairbairn would later suggest that 'there was an ego (primitive) present at birth which was libidinally oriented towards an external object' (in Clarke, 2001). Gross saw this not only in an interpersonal sense, but also – one generation before Reich – in the collective realm of revolutionary politics: the capacity to freely relate as equals:

> The will to relate in contrast to the will to power has to be uncovered as the essential contrast to the adjusted – bourgeois – psyche and it has to be shown as the highest and true goal of revolutions [. . .]. It will have to be demonstrated that human nature as it is conceived and inborn in everyone strives towards the two great values of freedom and relationship. (1919c: 355)

Forty years later, Wilfred Bion was to echo Gross in considering

> Narcissism on the one hand and what I shall call socialism on the other. By these two terms I wish to indicate the two poles of all instincts. This bi-polarity of the instincts refers to their operation as elements in the fulfilment of the individual's life as an individual, and as elements in his life as a social or, as Aristotle would describe it, as a 'political' animal. (1994: 105)

As mentioned, Gross's lifelong concern with ethical issues culminated in the concept of an 'inborn "instinct of mutual aid"' (1919b: 347), which he described as the 'basic ethical instinct' (1914: 265). Here, Gross was explicitly referring to Kropotkin and his formulation of the principle of mutual aid in the field of biology (1902). Mutuality is a core concept of anarchist thought, coined earlier by Proudhon (see Chapter 5). Contemporary researchers in biology, anthropology and genetics seem to confirm this theory: 'Why we can't help helping each other: It's not simply noble to be nice to our fellow man – it's hardwired into our genes' (Angier, 2001). Gross was the first analyst to introduce this ethical relational concept into psychoanalytic theory and practice:

> innate among man's most powerful strivings towards his fellow men, beginning in the earliest years and even months of life, is an essentially psychotherapeutic striving. The tiny percentage of human beings who devote their professional careers to the practice of psychoanalysis [. . .] are only giving explicit expression to a therapeutic devotion which all human beings share.

This is actually neither Kropotkin nor Gross, but Harold Searles writing in 1975 on 'The patient as therapist to his analyst' (1979: 380).

Linked with the 'instinct of mutual aid', and in line with some his earliest writings (e.g. Gross, 1902), Gross was the first analyst to consider an innate morality. In 1919, he published 'Protest and morality in the unconscious' (1919b), a subject that Jung only considered towards the very end of his life (Jung 1958; 1959).

In those last years of his life, Jung also finally arrived at a position about the importance of human relationship for the collective of society which matched the one Gross had formulated some forty years earlier. The following sentences might well be a quotation from Gross, but this is Jung writing in 1957:

> It would [. . .] be very much in the interest of the free society to give some thought to the question of human relationship from the psychological point of view, for in this resides its real cohesion and consequently its strength. Where love stops, power begins, and violence, and terror. (1957: 301)

Like a distant echo, in the early 1970s, a graffito off London's Portobello Road stated 'Power is Love gone bad!'

Unus mundus *and the numinous*

Gross took his ideas about relationship into a realm that Jung much later would call the *unus mundus*, or the *mundus imaginalis* (Samuels, 1989: 161–72), the underlying interconnectedness of all beings, which Samuels, referring to Winnicott, calls 'the third area' (in ibid.: 167). Another term used to describe the area of experience between those who constitute the relationship, is 'the analytic third'. Given the influence Gross had on Buber, it is interesting to note that Samuels, too, refers to Buber in this context (ibid.), as Zinkin did two years later (see above). As Buber would later, Gross made no distinction between interpersonal relating and relating in the religious realm, speaking, in fact, of relating as constituting the numinous. In this, Gross was the first psychoanalyst to link analysis with the religious and spiritual realm. Nohl, the anarchist pupil of Gross, said as early as 1911 that psychoanalysis was useless if it did not culminate in prayer (Nohl, 1911: 83–4; see Ch. 4.). In 1913, Gross referred to 'relationship as a third, taken as religion' (Gross 1913c). Understood in this way,

> [relationship] contains the obligation [almost: compulsion] towards individualizing. This obligation is an automatic showing up of all possibilities of experience, the capacities to maintain all psychical warmth that strives towards general, all embracing. [. . .] The obligation to this relating that results from the purity of experience *is both organically and psychically the basis of a new form of living*, of faith, of desire and a life-community [*Lebensgemeinschaft*] that is going to fill out the future. (Ibid.; emph. G.H.)

As Mühsam had summarized earlier (see above), here Gross brings together individuation, relating and spirituality, presaging Jung's individuation process, and putting it into a relational context. Gross stated that sexuality was 'not identical with the individual, but the pure great third' (1913: 302), and associated it with 'relationship as third, as religion' (1913c). In this, Gross may be seen as linking Freud's emphasis on the centrality of sexuality with Jung's insistence on a symbolic-spiritual dimension, and adding the importance of relationality. Jung considered the numinous invoked by the analytic relationship only some thirty years later: 'my work is not concerned with the treatment of neuroses but rather with the approach to the numinous [. . .] the approach to the numinous is the real therapy' (1973: 377). His approach, though, includes neither sexuality nor interpersonal relationality.

Decades earlier, in 1909, in association with his anarchist friends, Gross had employed their understanding of the numinous in one-to-one-relationships to embrace collective relationships, thus re-emphasizing a resacralization of politics (see Chapter 4). In 1914, Gross declared, 'The psychoanalyst's practice contains all of humanity's suffering from itself'(1914: 265). Once more, omitting Gross, Jung formulated corresponding ideas only decades later:

> the bond established by the transference [. . .] is vitally important not only for the individual but also for society, and indeed for the moral and spiritual progress of mankind. So, when the psychotherapist has to struggle with difficult transference problems, he can at least take comfort in these reflections. He is not just working for this particular patient, who may be quite insignificant, but for himself as well and his own soul, and in so doing he is perhaps laying an infinitesimal grain in the scales of humanity's soul. Small and invisible as this contribution may be, it is yet an *opus magnum*, for it is accomplished in a sphere but lately visited by the numen, where the whole weight of mankind's problems has settled. The ultimate questions of psychotherapy are not a private matter – they represent a supreme responsibility. (1946a: 234–5).

In a similar vein, the philosopher Levinas conceived of an inherent responsibility in relating to the other, which informs his account of spirituality. Indirectly, these ideas may, in part, well be traced back to Gross, given his unacknowledged influence on Buber, and the latter's association with Levinas.

The personal and the collective

Closely related to Jung's concept of the *unus mundus*, and his conceptualizing the analytic relationship as embedded in 'humanity's soul' (ibid.), are two further key principles of analytical psychology that can be directly linked to Gross's earlier thought. The first of these concerns the identity of the personal (or private) and the political (or collective), implied by Gross's 'The psychology of the unconscious is the philosophy of the revolution' (1913d: 78), as well as in the title Franz Jung intended for his selection of Gross's writings, *From Sexual Agony to Social Catastrophe* (1921a). In 1916, C.G. Jung expressed similar thoughts:

> [the subject's] psychology is as much individual as collective, but not in the sense that the individual ought to merge himself in the collective [. . .]. The human psyche is both individual and collective and its well-being depends on the natural co-operation of these two apparently contradictory sides. (1916: 289)

Some twenty years later, the Grossian concept of the identity of the personal and the collective re-emerged in the diagram of Jung's Tavistock lectures of 1935, where he depicts the psyche in concentric circles from its outer layers – the 'ectopsychic sphere' as he calls it – to the innermost area – the so-called 'endopsychic sphere'. In this diagram, the core of the intimately personal in the very centre of the diagram, coincides with the place Jung allocated to the collective unconscious: both occupy the same space (1935: 44).

The second important concept linked to the *unus mundus* in Jung's work is the 'acausal connecting principle' which he came to call synchronicity (C.G.

Jung, 1952a). In his summary of Gross's psychology some thirty years earlier, Franz Jung wrote, 'Illness and *even fate and coincidence become a symbol* whose overarching conditions we can pursue analytically' (F. Jung, 1921a: 203; emph. G.H.). Yet again, albeit not in the detailed and elaborated form C.G. Jung gave these thoughts later – we can observe early seed-like pre-formulations of his ideas in Gross's earlier thinking.

Alfred Adler

In one of his first published non-medical texts, Otto Gross used the term '*Individualpsychologie*' (Gross, 1902: 12; Madison, 2001) – almost ten years before Alfred Adler (1870–1937) chose the identical term to distinguish his psychology from that of Freud. In his 1914 text 'On the symbolism of destruction', Gross discussed Adler's and Freud's, as well as Spielrein's, ideas on the subject in detail. However, in contrast, Gross does not restrict his considerations to observation of behaviour patterns, in this instance within the sadomasochistic range, but explores their roots in external influences during earliest childhood. In retrospect, Franz Jung wrote, 'Scientifically, in analysis [Gross] is looking for a bridge between Freud and Adler' (1921a: 197). Gross confirmed this in one of his final texts:

> the contrast between the two great psychoanalytic schools, between Adler and Freud, a contrast which in my opinion is basically only a superficial one, and might give way to a gain on both sides, to a combination of both sides in an extension of the knowledge of the inner conflict. (1920: 286; t.m.)

Franz Jung bemoaned that 'Adler, who has a lot to thank [Gross] for, only mentions him in passing' (1921a: 188). This refers to Adler calling Gross, in 1912, 'the clever pupil' (1997: 58) of Freud. However, given the importance both Gross as well as Adler placed on the issue of power, their influence was also mutual:

> As a foundation for analytic interpretation, the concept of dualistic drive-theory existed in the form of sexual- and ego-drives. On the one hand, Gross based his thought on this. At the same time he also realizes that the split between Freud and Adler may originate in the fact that either researcher focuses predominantly on one of these drives, thus neglecting the motivational structure of the respective other. Gross's attempt to point out that, under the existing cultural conditions, both drives interlink, need to interlink pathologically, in order to reach common goals, and that therefore a splitting of the theory is inexpedient, leads to the realisation that, fragmentarily, in Gross's works the future development of psychoanalytic theory seems to be laid out. His theory about the origin of inner conflicts may be understood as a fore-runner of ego-psychological considerations. (Springer, 1987: 80)

Otto Gross and Sándor Ferenczi

> [Gross] will still pop up here and there as a 'Golem'.
>
> *Sándor Ferenczi, 1918 (in Freud and Ferenczi, 1993: 261)*

Whilst it remains difficult to directly trace Gross's influence on Freud's other followers, there seem to be several psychoanalytic concepts that Gross practised and/or formulated before anyone else. As mentioned above, Ferenczi is now frequently credited as the originator of 'mutual analysis' (for example, Doucet, 1992: 647) and this is seen as the root of today's 'intersubjectivity' (Szecsödy, 2007). Some of the appreciation of Ferenczi's work in the area of mutuality that has arisen following the gradual development and increasing acceptance of intersubjective theories in the late 1980s (Stolorow et al. 1987), give a measure of the radical innovation of what are assumed to be Ferenczi's pioneering ideas:

> Ferenczi's [. . .] final challenge to Freud reaches to the heart of the psychoanalytic relationship [. . .] namely, Ferenczi's passionate insistence on an egalitarian rather than an authoritarian analytic relationship, culminating in his experiments with 'mutual analysis' [. . .] which led to the extreme decision to reverse roles. (Hoffer, 1996: 108, 112)

Notably, in 1996, some ninety years after Gross routinely practised it, Hoffer still considered 'mutual analysis' in inverted commas only. Although Modell remarked critically: 'this experiment [with mutual analysis] now strikes us as naive and imprudent', he conceded that 'Ferenczi was struggling with therapeutic dilemmas, which are still very much with us. [. . .] The matter of equality between analyst and analysand is still a current therapeutic issue' (1990: 143). Christopher Fortune, referring to Modell's critique, albeit hesitantly, sounded more positive:

> Ferenczi's experiment in mutual analysis was an inspired – albeit, therapeutically flawed – act of following, and learning from, the patient. In mutual analysis, Ferenczi left the protection and safety of classical analytic 'neutrality' and confronted himself in the therapeutic relationship. [. . .] An imaginative technical leap, mutual analysis generated rich analytic results, such as insights into transference, [and] the subjectivity of the analyst [. . .]. Through it, Ferenczi tested the limits and defined a 'two-person' analytic process. In challenging the classical Freudian blank-screen, one-way, or 'one-person' analytic process, mutual analysis [. . .] helped to prepare the ground for contemporary relational theories, including British object relations, American interpersonal theory, self-psychology, and the current notion of intersubjectivity. Psychoanalysis is only now beginning to assess the historical significance of mutual analysis [. . .] – now recognised as a primary source for today's relational theories. (1996: 171–2).

It is worth quoting these comments at length because they illustrate that these psychoanalysts were unaware of the fact that the revolutionary technique under review was initiated by Gross. Ferenczi knew Gross well; as mentioned, their ideas in terms of linking psychoanalytic thought with radical politics had been very close. Ferenczi quoted Gross, reviewed his writings (Ferenczi, 1920; 1921) and was impressed by his ideas. In 1910, he commented to Freud, 'I am reading Gross's book about inferiority and am delighted by it' (Freud and Ferenczi, 1993: 154). In 1914, he corresponded with Gross (ibid.: 35), although their letters are not known to have survived. Currently, Martin Stanton and André Haynal remain alone in giving Gross due recognition. Stanton pointed out that Jung's and Gross's analysis 'serve[s] as the model for "mutual analysis", later evolved by Ferenczi' (Stanton, 1990: 14); and Haynal observed that

> in the context of the analytic process, analysis of the analyst by the analysand may lead on to the possibility of mutual analysis, an idea which, from the historical point of view, was not particularly Ferenczian in origin, having been practised long before by the pioneers of psychoanalysis among themselves. (2002: 60)

As a 'well-known example', Haynal mentions the mutual analysis of Jung and Gross first (ibid.). When Ferenczi noted, 'Certain phases of mutual analysis represent the complete renunciation of all compulsion and of all authority on both sides' (1995: 56), this could easily have been a quotation from Gross.

Due to the similarity of socio-political ideas and their use of and experimenting with mutuality in analysis, Perls scholar Bernd Bocian regards Gross and Ferenczi as the 'grandfathers' of Gestalt therapy (2010: 145): Fritz Perls (1893–1970) knew of Gross's work through his relationship with the Berlin Dadaist Raoul Hausmann, who was strongly influenced by Gross.

Nicholas Trigant Burrow's mutual analysis

Although there is no documented link between Gross and the American psychiatrist and psychologist Nicholas Trigant Burrow (1875–1950), he does deserve to be mentioned within this context of discussing the origins of mutuality in analysis and the concept of clinical intersubjectivity which arose from it. Apart from these common concerns, the only connection between Gross and Burrow consists of a few important mutual professional relationships and an almost uncanny timing of these. Like Gross, but even more so in terms of professional achievements within the psychoanalytic movement, Burrow became an outcast and currently hardly appears to be worth a footnote in its historiography. From a trans-historical perspective, as well as according to the 'acausal connecting principle' Jung formulated (1952a), these links are meaningful.

Freud, Jung and Ferenczi met Burrow on their 1909 journey to the US, and shortly after, Burrow came to Zurich to analyse and train with Jung for a whole

year in 1909/10. Jones speaks of Burrow's 'devotion to Jung' (in Bair, 2004: 232). Jung himself seems to have appreciated Burrow both professionally and personally, as a 1912 letter shows (1973: 27). 'Towing the party-line' of the exclusions in psychoanalytic historiography, Gay mentions him but once in his biography of Freud, as 'a curious amalgam of physician and crank and an inconstant supporter of psychoanalysis – Freud thought him a "muddled dabbler"' (1988: 476–7).

When Jung returned from the US in 1909, and started analysing and training Burrow, he must have had a difficult time of it. After the 'bitter' disappointments regarding Gross and Spielrein (Freud and Jung, 1974: 229), both concerning different kinds of mutual trust, Jung had just had the further disappointment of Freud's refusal to equalize their relationship by sharing his dreams. Might he have sensed that this was the beginning of the end of their friendship? Might he have confided any of his feelings about these recent painful experiences to his analysand and colleague Burrow? This is, of course, impossible to know, but the timing of the beginning of their relationship may be seen as important. Within the wider parameters of my trans-historical approach, it is possible to consider that 'mutuality was in the air.' In addition, it is a core feature of psychodynamic dialectics that unconscious content may be transmitted intersubjectively. In terms of the political context of the present study, it is interesting that, at the time, Burrow quoted Jung as having said, 'Today neurosis represents an individual intent of solving a social problem' (1909–11; in Avillar, n.d.: 19).

According to Jones (1974: 68), Burrow became a founding member of the International Psychoanalytic Association in 1910. In the following year, back in New York, he co-founded the American Psychoanalytic Association with Jones, Putnam and Brill, and served as its president 1924–25, (or 1926 [Kahn, 1996]). In 1913, Freud and Jung decided to have Burrow's name on the masthead of the newly founded *Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*.

In 1924, during Burrow's presidency, Gross's analysand Dorian Feigenbaum (see below) came to the US to practice as a psychoanalyst in New York. Although there is no documented record of any contact between the two men, is it not likely that Feigenbaum met with the president of the Psychoanalytic Association of which he intended to become a member? Is it absurd to further consider that the two might have discussed Jung, with whom Burrow had trained, and who had analysed Feigenbaum's training analyst Gross? Irrespective of whether they met, or not, what makes Burrow important in the present context is the fact that, as president of the American psychoanalysts, he presented a paper on mutual analysis at the 9th IPA Congress in Bad Homburg, Germany, in 1925, which was published in the following year in both the *Zeitschrift* and the *American Journal of Psychiatry* (1926).

Kahn points to a link between Burrow and Ferenczi, which may well have contributed to the latter's later experimenting with mutual, or 'active' analysis, as it was then called:

> In 1926, Ferenczi gave a series of lectures in New York and Washington DC. At that time, Burrows was the President of the American Psychoanalytic

> Association. Given their relationships with Freud, their presenting and publishing in the same circles, and their propinquity to each other at key times, it is quite possible that Ferenczi knew something about Burrow's studies [Burrow, 1926; 1927]. (Kahn, 1996)

When Avillar comments on Burrow's studies, this recalls Gross's ideas: 'For him the unconscious conflict defines itself already then as a result of the repression of the egotistic instincts on part of the social instincts' (n.d.: 19). However tenuous a link between Burrow's and Gross's theories and clinical practice may be, and although Burrow's account of his mutual analysis with one of his patients occurs some fifteen to twenty years later than Gross's working in the same manner with his anarchist friends and, in 1908, with Jung, it is well worth quoting at length for several reasons: firstly, it details the issues which concerned Gross earlier in the struggle to replace the authoritarian will to power with a will to relating; secondly, it is the most concise account of a mutual analysis by both participants from the first quarter of the previous century, and thirdly, because as a unique – and, I feel, moving – document, this seems an important aspect of the frozen narrative of psychoanalytic history. In addition, the quote gives a highly considered nuanced early account of analytic relationality.

Burrow described:

> One day [. . .] my assistant-student [. . .] had the boldness to challenge the honesty of my analytic position, insisting that [. . .] my sincerity only would be demonstrated if I was prepared to accept from him the same analytic requirements than the ones I imposed on others. [. . .] such a proposition seemed to me totally absurd. Had I not been 'analysed'? [. . .] I found the suggestion to be amusing, [. . .] and I agreed to the arrangement.
>
> Not many weeks after having occupied the chair of the patient and having given up mine to him, I realized that a situation to which I had consented with more or less superficiality was acquiring an air of a most profound seriousness. My 'resistances' to my self-designated analyst, far from lacking importance, appeared to be simply insuperable, but there was no possibility of going back. The analysis took its course day after day and with it my resistances took hold of me with more and more force. The agreement at which voluntarily I had arrived became indescribably painful. [. . .]
>
> Just as, although reluctantly, I became more and more profoundly conscious of my intolerance to self-defeat, little by little I realized that my analyst, as he changed place with me, simply slipped towards the authoritarian point of view which I myself had abandoned, and that in essence the situation still had not changed at all.
>
> [. . .] Immediately it marked the opening of perspectives of an experience totally new. [. . .] for the first time, I started to guess what all the time had been underlying in my own analysis and that, as I see it now, in fact underlies any analysis. [. . .] it became evident to me what had been for me the most

> crucial revelation in many years of analytic work – this is, that in the individualistic application, the attitude of the psychoanalyst and the attitude of the authoritarian are inseparable.
>
> [. . .] the analysis consisted in a reciprocal effort on the part of everyone of us of recognizing within himself the attitude of authoritarianism and of autocracy towards the other. With this automatic renunciation of the personalistic and private base, replacing it by a more inclusive attitude towards the problems of human consciousness, gradually our whole analytic horizon cleared up not only for me but also for students and patients.
>
> [. . .] Only the accidental circumstance of the protest of a student against my own personal prejudices and my subsequent observation of an identical personalism in myself, such as was discovered empirically when interchanging our places, are responsible for an alternative insight in psychoanalysis [. . .].
>
> In the measure that I arrived to guess, through the wider recognition of the unconscious, the corresponding wider sense of the consciousness of man, I arrived to feel the necessity of its more adequate interpretation within an organismic point of view such as I have tried to outline under the theme of 'The social basis of consciousness'.
>
> I cannot in a consistent way give references of authority in support of this work. There is none. (in Avillar, n.d.: 29–31).

Strikingly, Burrow's 'social basis of consciousness' closely anticipates what some eighty years later the Boston Change Process Study Group formulates in terms of 'moments of meeting' (2010). In 1947, Clarence Shields (?—?), the 'assistant-student' in question, gave his own account:

> When in fact we started to work together in the same office, something inevitable in a program of mutual analysis [. . .] started to happen. [. . .]
>
> Neither of the two [of us] could stand the observations of the other. Our relation became tense. [. . .] Then, another unsuspected element impacted us brutally. The indomitable rightness of each one came to impose itself and we were definitely not prepared to stand up to it. [. . .] We asked ourselves seriously if to continue or not. But we endured it, we held up. We had a task to do. [. . .]
>
> Dr Burrow and I were united by a common interest – the same interest that still unites us and the same which basically unites [. . .] all humanity [. . .]. We learned this [. . .] as a result of the relationship of one with the other which in fact we experienced. [. . .] There appeared inevitable reactions of disagreement, irritation, resentment, blaming and anger. With time we started to guess at a tendency towards splitting – [. . .] the same which makes itself evident in the behaviour of man on the international level [. . .]. We persevered. It was this perseverance in front of this disaster in the behaviour which constituted the nucleus of our early relationship; nothing other than this going on, this perseverance on the part of two individuals.

> [. . .] It was this relation – a relationship which should have split up and did not split – which incorporated the nucleus of the insurmountable problem as well as the consistent success. [. . .] It was about [. . .] a nucleus of circumstances of social behaviour. [. . .] The only innovation, the only indispensable condition was that the two [. . .] persevered when the hell of their own emotional behaviour [. . .] showed itself naked and everyone felt himself irresistibly pushed to run away. This circumstance had neither been planned nor looked for by us, it imposed itself. Hardly had we become aware of what was happening. All we knew was that, hoping to find a nice relationship while carrying out a pleasant task in an agreeable field, all of a sudden and brutally we found ourselves confronted with a dark and formidable dilemma of behaviour which eliminated all our intellectual aspirations and left us abandoned in front of the most shameful and virulent aspects of our emotional antagonisms. Here was the essence of our tragedy. [. . .] In this perseverance of two organisms, that according to rules should have run away one from the other, found themselves with the rudiments of an alternative pattern of behaviour – of an alternative frame of reference - which not only demanded a new and fresh vision of the subjective inter-relational phenomena but which on top made possible an objective approach to them. [. . .] Even so, the inter-relational dilemma continued to dominate. There was no precedent. There was no perspective as to any reward. No horizon could be seen . . . Never a human enterprise had come to a pathway so full of failures. Everyone found himself alone. Neither could help the other. There was only one thing to do and we did it: maintain ourselves disposed to face the task. We had work to be done and we kept to it. When all this that had seemed real to us fell in pieces at our feet [. . .] we persevered, not just anyhow but neither knowingly, not blindly although neither seeing clearly. During these first days we still did not know that this nuclear circumstance of this impersonal perseverance [. . .] constituted the fertile soil [. . .] from which would sprout the clear and physiological differentiation that Dr Burrow would make between [. . .] that which pertains to neurosis, crime and war and that which pertains to this whole which is the central organismic constant [. . .] of man as a species. Even so, we persevered, we went on. In this nuclear situation, the behaviour of everyone was equal and common. The rightness of each against the one of the other, the wrongness of each against the one of the other was equal and common. This equality and communality is the essence of completeness and health, the foundation of growth and of reassertion of man as live organism. (ibid.: 32–3)

Surprisingly similar to Gross's initially anarchist conception of equality in mutuality, still in the first quarter of the previous century, Burrow and Shields develop an awareness of relational equality which has only recently been formulated more extensively as a clinical parameter (see B. Heuer, 2015). Just as Gross before him, Burrow, considered the originator of group analysis, challenged the concept of an

analytic relationship based on authority. In 1932, seven years after the events documented above, he was expelled from the American Psychoanalytic Association he had co-founded – just at the same time when Ferenczi was regarded as mentally unstable and no longer acceptable to the International Psychoanalytic Association for clinically exploring very similar issues. Are we to understand Gross's, Burrow's and Ferenczi's challenge of the power-based way of relating as an important reason for their respective *damnatio memoriae*? Without question, it is this which makes them important for us today – and tomorrow.

Otto Gross, Vittorio Benussi and Dorian Feigenbaum

A further important influence of Gross in the area of psychoanalysis is as yet unresearched and so thus only – albeit repeatedly – mentioned in footnotes (Antonelli, 1994: 22, n53; Freud and Abraham, 2002: 478, n4), or asides (Reichmann, 2012): Otto Gross was the analyst of Vittorio Benussi (1878 – 1927). After completing schooling in Trieste, Benussi went to study at Graz University with the psychologist and philosopher Alexius Meinong Ritter von Handschuchsheim (1853–1920). In 1894, Meinong had founded the laboratory for experimental psychology, the first of its kind in the Austro-Hungarian Empire (Huber, 2015: 25). In 1902, in a letter to Meinong, Gross had suggested a blending of philosophy and psychiatry with an emphasis on ethics (in Heuer, 2000: 171–3). At Meinong's suggestion, Benussi started to read psychology, and spent the winter of 1889/90 in Rome with Sante de Sanctis (1862–1935), the founder of child psychology and psychiatry in Italy. Benussi habilitated in 1905, and, after Meinong's retirement, became the leading researcher at the laboratory: 'Benussi was an able experimenter, in fact, the most productive and effective experimental psychologist that Austria had had' (Boring, 1957: 446, in Huber, 2015: 25). Benussi continued his work on visual perception, the psychology of time, and the psycho-physiological symptoms of lying, whilst also lecturing at Graz University. During the Great War, Benussi's Italian nationality prevented the academic career advancements due to him, and he had to leave Graz in 1918 (Huber, 2015: 36–7). Benussi engaged with the psychology of Max Wertheimer (Antonelli, 1994: 22–3), who earlier had brought legal action against Gross in 1909 (see Chapter 6), and is regarded as one of the pioneers of Gestalt therapy. Between 1920 and the end of his life, Benussi lectured at Padua University. Presumably, the analysis with Gross took place during Benussi's time in Graz. Back in Italy, Benussi became the analyst of Cesare Musatti (1908–89). In the early 1920s, Benussi and Musatti, together with Edoardo Weiss (1889–1970), laid the groundwork for the formation of the Italian Psychoanalytic Society, founded in 1925, and officially recognized in 1932. Thus one of the founder members of psychoanalysis in Italy had his training analysis with Gross.

A certain similarity exists to the situation in the United States in terms of the establishment of psychoanalysis there: one of the leading American psychoanalysts of the 1920s and '30s had the core of his psychoanalytic training – as which one's training analysis is considered – with Gross. In this instance, there is slightly better

documentation: I discovered Gross's role together with two of his final texts (Gross, 2005; 2005a) at the New York Psychoanalytic Institute (Heuer, 2005). Today, Dorian Feigenbaum (1887–1937) – like Gross and Burrow – has become another unknown. Born in then Lemberg, today Lviv, Ukraine, Feigenbaum received his MD in 1914, and had a psychiatric training with two of the greatest authorities in the field at that time: Kraepelin in Munich and Wagner-Jauregg in Vienna. During his early years of study, together with his nephew Leopold Weiss (later Muhammed Asad; see Chapter 6), Feigenbaum attended some of Freud's lectures (Windhager, 2003: 81–2).

Between 1915 and 1918, during the Great War, Feigenbaum served in the army. Subsequently he worked for six years as a psychiatrist in Switzerland, and later as psychiatric adviser to the government in Palestine. There, until 1924, he was director of Mental Home of Ezrath Nashim Society, the first Jewish psychiatric hospital (Lowental and Cohen, 1992: 188), before emigrating to New York to settle as a psychoanalyst. There, he also worked as a physician at the Neurological Institute, taught at the College of Surgeons at Columbia University and at the New York Psychoanalytic Institute, where he was a member of the Educational Committee of the New York Psychoanalytic Society. Relevant for the present discussion about modification of psychoanalytic technique by Gross, Burrow and Ferenczi, is a brief positive appraisal Feigenbaum published in 1927 of Ferenczi's 'Active analysis' (1926). At the time, 'active analysis' was the term used for a more active participation of the analyst in the analytic dialogue, as opposed to the more passive 'opaque-mirror' objectivity recommended by Freud. From today's perspective, 'active analysis' describes a consideration of and a move towards intersubjective relationality. In 1929, Feigenbaum presented at the 11th International Psychoanalytic Congress in Oxford. In the following year, Feigenbaum edited a special issue on psychopathology of *The Medical Review of Reviews*, for which Freud wrote an introduction that ended with the words, 'It is to be hoped that works of the kind that Dr Feigenbaum intends to publish in his Review will be a powerful encouragement to the interest in psycho-analysis in America' (Freud 1930a: 255). Concerning this introduction, Freud had previously confirmed in a personal – unpublished – letter that Feigenbaum and his colleagues were 'the correct source for authentic information' (Freud, 1929) about psychoanalysis in America. In 1932, Feigenbaum became the co-founder and editor-in-chief until his death of the now third-oldest psychoanalytic journal, *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly*. A photograph shows him as a participant of the 13th International Psychoanalytic Congress in 1934 in Luzern (Windhager, 2003: Fig. 14). According to his obituary, 'Dr Feigenbaum achieved the position he held as one of the outstanding representatives of psychoanalysis' in the US (Lewin and Zilboorg, 1937: 2).

In a questionnaire about his professional training, sent to him by Abraham Kardiner (1891–1981), then chairman of the Educational Committee of the New York Psychoanalytic Institute, Feigenbaum stated in 1932 that his 'didactic analysis' had lasted for eight months with Dr Otto Gross (Kardiner and Feigenbaum, 1932: 1), an unusually long period at the time of the Great War.

Unfortunately, the existing documents do not allow a dating of Feigenbaum's 'didactic analysis' with Gross. We can only speculate: Feigenbaum writes that he had worked as a psychiatrist for six years before specializing in psychoanalysis (ibid.: 2). From the dating of Gross's texts which he collected (Feigenbaum, n.d.), it seems that he must have been in contact with Gross until very shortly before the latter's death. Most likely, Feigenbaum's analysis with Gross happened at some point in time towards the end of the period between 1914 and 1920, and possibly after the end of the war: one of the rare photographs of Gross show him together with Feigenbaum, both in military uniform (Figure 7).

It is possible to fathom the importance Gross must have had for Feigenbaum from the fact that, in his estate, there is a nearly complete collection of Gross's writings, for the most part in their original editions and some in the form of type- or hand-written manuscripts. Whether the typewritten manuscripts are Gross's or Feigenbaum's copies is impossible to ascertain. Certainly, the copy of Gross's last known complete text, 'On the problem of solidarity in the class struggle' (2005a) is very carefully made, including passages Gross had deleted, in Feigenbaum's handwriting.

Otto Gross and Wilhelm Reich

For more than thirty years, Gross's influence on Reich has been the subject of conjecture (Michaels, 1983: 66–9), due to the striking similarity of some of their key concepts. In the same year as Michaels wrote, Eissler, who had met Reich personally (Reich, 1975) wrote, 'To be sure, he [Gross] was Wilhelm Reich's predecessor, if anything' (Eissler, 1983: 182). A generation before Reich, Gross laid out the dialectical interdependence between individual and political change, and suggested that the public and the private meet particularly in the sphere of sexuality, as his term 'sexual revolution' implies, which Reich later used. Dialectics also form the basis of Reich's work, expressed in the symbol (Figure 8) he designed to represent it: from a circular base an arrow rises and divides in two to converge in the form of a circle, the endpoints in opposition, similar to the snakes of Hermes' caduceus, understood by Jung as an individuation symbol (Jung, 1943: 6).

To date, there is no direct documented evidence of Gross's influence: in his known writings, Reich does not mention him – and in any case, he seems to have been too ambitious a man to easily acknowledge his sources. However, Gross's linking of psychoanalysis and revolutionary politics and his focus on the body via sexuality pre-dates that of Reich by one generation. It seems inconceivable that Reich, having been described as an eager student of psychoanalysis, 'soaking up everything' (Grete Bibring, Reich's co-student, in Sharaf, 1983: 59) in the field, was unaware of Gross's ideas. In *Character Analysis* (1973), Reich devoted a whole chapter to 'The basic conflict between the need and the outer world' (ibid.: 270–71), employing a formulation which closely resembles Gross's. It is highly unlikely that Reich wrote his 1932 refutation of the death instinct, using a case example of masochism (ibid.: 225–69), without having been aware of Gross's 'On the symbolism of destruction' (1914), published in the prestigious *Zentralblatt für Psychoanalyse und*

FIGURE 7 Dorian Feigenbaum, with Otto Gross, towards the end of the Great War. © Otto Gross Archive/Gottfried M. Heuer, London.

Psychotherapie. Here, Gross had presented very similar ideas about sadomasochism, although, of course, the term 'death instinct' did not, as yet, exist then. Notably, Jones referred to Reich's 1932 paper as an 'amalgamation of Marxism and psychoanalysis'

FIGURE 8 Wilhelm Reich's logo.

(1957: 166), in spite of the fact that Marx is not mentioned. Jones quoted Freud's comment that Reich's text, 'culminated in the nonsensical statement that what we have called the death instinct is a product of the capitalist system' (ibid.) – from today's perspective actually well worth considering. Then, Freud refuted the theoretical links he had consistently implied between individual neurosis and society. However, might it be possible, that in the end Reich's – and Gross's – critique contributed to Freud's advising, in 1937, 'not to set too much value on my remarks about the destructive instinct' (in Reich, 1975: 73, n118)?

There is further, albeit indirect 'evidence' to link Reich with Gross: in 1920, Gross's *Three Papers on the Inner Conflict* was published by Marcus & Weber, Bonn, who also published the *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft*. A year earlier, in the same journal, Reich had published a text 'On "enlightenment" in the fight against venereal diseases' (Reich, 1919), and, in 1920, 'On a case of breaching the incest barrier in puberty'. Psychoanalyst Bernd Nitzschke points out, 'This actually means that, in 1919/20, Gross and Reich are published by the same publisher' (2015).

However, neither of Reich's daughters, a general practitioner/psychotherapist and a psychiatrist/psychoanalyst respectively, both of whom I contacted, had ever come across the name of Otto Gross in any of their father's writings, published or unpublished (E. Reich, 1997; L. Reich Rubin, 1997).

Nevertheless, what links Gross's and Reich's ideas most strongly, is, of course, their linking of psychoanalysis and revolutionary politics. A comment made later by Reich suggests that this proposition was the main reason he was excluded from the psychoanalytic community: 'It was the sexual revolution that bothered him. [. . .] Freud rejected it completely. He was very angry' (1975: 52, 59). In addition, objections to Reich's emphasis on sexuality may well have played a role in the enmity of Anna Freud: according to Reich's daughter, due to what was generally perceived as her prudishness, Anna Freud 'was jokingly referred to [in Vienna] as the "iron maiden" [. . .] [or] the "iron virgin"' (Reich Rubin, 1997a). In 1933, after the Nazis had come to power in Germany, Anna Freud wrote to Ernest Jones, in preparation of Reich's expulsion from the *International Psychoanalytic Association* a year later:

> Here we are all prepared to take risks for psychoanalysis, but not at all for Reich's ideas, with which nobody is in agreement. The pronouncement of my father is: If psychoanalysis is to be prohibited, it should come to be prohibited for that which it is and not for the mixture of politics and

> psychoanalysis which Reich represents. 'My father' can't wait to get rid of Reich as a member. He is insulted by the raping of analysis in the direction of the political where it does not belong. (In Steiner, 2000: 128; t.m.)

'Free me of Reich' (ibid.), Freud is said to have demanded. How far psychoanalysis had moved away from any linking of individual suffering with the structure of society – as Freud himself had observed from '"Civilized" sexual morality and modern nervous illness' (1908) to *Civilization and its Discontents* (1930) – can be seen in Jones's opening of the 1934 IPA Congress (also attended by Feigenbaum):

> We see once more that Politics and Science do not mix any better than oil and water. It follows that whoever yields to such impulses becomes by so much the less a psychoanalyst. And to attempt to propagate his particular social ideas in the name of psychoanalysis is to pervert its true nature, a misuse of psychoanalysis which I wish firmly to renounce and repudiate. (In Steiner, 2000: 177)

However, Phillips comments, 'The reason Freud had to distance himself from Reich was that Reich was taking some of Freud's theories to some of their logical conclusions' (2011). Taking this idea a step further – albeit without mentioning Reich – psychoanalyst Peter Rudnitzky has used the concept of 'Rescuing psychoanalysis from Freud' (2006). Anna Freud and Jones thus forced Reich to choose between psychoanalysis and politics . . . . There are two further aspects to consider that parallel Gross's and Reich's experiences: just as Jung could only foresee doom for Gross, early in 1934, Anna Freud expressed concern about Reich to Jones, 'I am afraid this will end in sickness' (in Turner, 2011: 156). Echoing what happened to Gross, Turner considers 'the verdict in this case was not so much a diagnosis as an executive decision made in order to protect psychoanalysis from what its guardians considered to be perversions of its natural cause' (ibid.). As with Gross, rumours emerged that Reich was insane. In addition, just as Jung's continuing resentment may be understood, in part, as an awareness of the considerable, yet unacknowledged degree of influence Gross had on his work. According to the psychoanalyst Richard Sterba (1898–1989), a colleague close to both Reich and Anna Freud, the latter's 'most famous work, *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense*, [. . .] was highly influenced by [Reich's] *Character Analysis*' (in Turner, 2011: 163–4).

The most convincing testimony to similarities between Gross's and Reich's ideas comes from Franz Jung. He knew Gross's work best from the personal experience of their long friendship as well as their collaboration, and he had also been in contact with Reich's work since the early 1930s. In a 1955 letter, he reported:

> Wilhelm Reich has turned up in New York and has appeared here like a direct copy of Otto Gross. He has written a book on 'Orgiasm' [*sic*] [Reich, 1961] that could actually have been written by Otto Grosz [*sic*], the orgiastic

> forms of sex as a basis of life, almost a religion, as the political bonding of society. (F. Jung, 1996: 491)

Unwittingly, writer and psychotherapist Paul Goodman (1911–72) used Grossian terms when he celebrated Reich as having written the manifesto of a 'psychology of the revolution' (in Turner, 2011: 246). However, Reich responded by demanding 'that Goodman stop linking his name with "anarchists and libertarians"' (ibid.: 246–7). Correspondingly, it is also rather ironic to find Carotenuto later turning the Gross/Reich-relationship on its head by speaking of 'Gross [. . .], whose theories had a Reichian dash of the erotic' (1984: vii–viii) . . . . Almost as a postscript to considering the links between Gross and Reich, in late June 2016 I had the following dream:

> Going shopping with Birgit, my wife, we meet Eva Reich and Clover Southwell (co-trainee of mine at the start of my body psychotherapy training, today a Biodynamic psychotherapist). We invite both of them to come home with us. I ask Eva if she has come across the name of Otto Gross in the papers her father has left behind, and I mention that I have asked her that already some years ago on the phone. She replies, 'Yes – but that's in texts that have not been published as yet – or haven't been allowed to be published so far.' I burst into tears: if only I'd been able to mention that in my Gross-book! I've just proof-read its final version!

***

In considering Reich, Jung, Adler, Ferenczi, and Sigmund and Anna Freud – as well as Bleuler – it is thus possible to trace back some of their important ideas and concepts, milestones in the development of psychoanalytic theory and clinical practice, and elaborated in greater detail by these, to earlier formulations in the work of Gross:

> Today, it is incomprehensible how Gross could have been so completely forgotten. [. . .] In his time, he went further than any other depth psychologist irrespective of which school, in propagating a challenge to authority and unmasking the pathogenic consequences of power-structures. (Springer, 1987: 81–2)

4

REVOLUTIONARY POLITICS, ENSOULED

> It seems no unnatural conclusion from ancient prophecy, [. . .] that in order to usher in [. . .] the latter-day glory, two great revolutions are to take place; the first outward and political, the second inward and spiritual.
>
> *David Austin, Congregational preacher, 1794 (in Anderson, 1983: 8)*

> Our psychology is a science that can at most be accused of having discovered the dynamite terrorists work with.
>
> *C.G. Jung, 1910: 395*

Almost with the rebellious, uncompromising fierceness much later echoed by the Sex Pistols, proclaiming they wanted to *be* anarchy (Lydon et al., 1976), in 1913, Gross provocatively told the psychiatrists hired to assess him, 'I have only mixed with anarchists and I declare myself to be an anarchist' (in Berze and Stelzer, 1913: 24). He continued:

> I am a psychoanalyst and from my experience I have gained the insight that the existing order of the family is a bad one. Authority in the family as the source of authority per se has to be changed –, the basic conflict within the personality is the one between the inborn character and the will towards oneself; – we are all bound up in the suggestions, which we call education. I believe that there is an inborn ethics, which is in contact with an inborn sexuality that is different from the enforced one. The only one who has recognized this is the national economist Kaspar Schmidt [pseudonym of Max Stirner (1806–56)] [. . .]; and since I want everything changed, I am an anarchist. (Ibid.)

The psychiatrists went as far as listing, in their report, as both aspects *and* proofs of Gross's pathology

> [The] dominating influence [. . .] along the lines of the well-known *Stirner*ian radicalism (total negation of state, religion and morals, emphasis on the crassest egotism) side by side with *Nietzsche*'s ideas (as complete a satisfaction of the instincts and fulfilment of the will to power as an ideal). (Ibid.: 34)

In addition, the psychiatrists paraphrased another of Gross's statements, 'Since "authority" thus arrests the most beautiful flower of humanity in its development, it had to disappear from the earth in each and every form; hence he was an *anarchist*' (ibid.: 35). Somehow their report reached a Viennese newspaper where it was summarized:

> He is an anarchist, too, in the most serious pathological sense. His father, the famous criminologist *Doktor* Hans Gross, has not shied away from any efforts nor sacrifices to free his son from his illness, efforts that, alas, had to remain in vain in view of the serious character of the illness. (Anon., 1914: 6)

However, only two years after Gross's death, conservative philosopher and political theorist Carl Schmitt (1888–1985), spoke of 'all anarchist teachings, from Babeuf to Bakunin, Kropotkin and Otto Gross' in his *Political Theology* (1922: 50). Cultural analyst Nicolaus Sombart comments 'The evocation of [Gross's] name – as the culmination point in the succession of the great anarchists [. . .] tears a hole into the back-drop of intellectual history which opens like a window onto the immediate problems of the present'(1991: 101).

How did the spoilt, upper-class Catholic boy get into this elect company? At the Salzburg Congress, Gross told Freud his 'earliest childhood memory [. . .] of his father warning a visitor: Watch out, he *bites*!' (Freud and Jung, 1974: 152). The above-mentioned psychiatrists confirmed, 'in his innermost core he had been an anarchist since the age of 6' (Berze and Stelzer, 1913: 30). Gross embraced the whole spectrum of anarchism, from the peacefulness of Tolstoy and Kropotkin to the violence of terrorism (see below). His active involvement focused on two of the most influential and important exponents of German anarchism in the early twentieth century: Erich Mühsam, and his friend Gustav Landauer, as well as Mühsam's partner Johannes Nohl.

Gustav Landauer (1870–1919) came from a Jewish middle-class merchant background. Having studied philosophy and the arts, he initially became a socialist, and later, opposing his comrades, an anarchist. Landauer authored numerous anarchist texts, most notably his *Call for Socialism* (1967), founded the journal *Der Sozialist*, translated Meister Eckhart into contemporary German, and translated and edited Kropotkin. Of particular interest here is Landauer's linking of religion and radical politics. In contrast to Mühsam, however, Landauer valued the traditional nuclear family and refused to consider alternative possibilities, although, married, he lived a long-term *ménage-à-trois* with the Swiss revolutionary Margarethe Faas-Hardegger (1882–1963). Landauer's unwillingness to accept

either homosexuality or psychoanalysis led to bitter arguments with Mühsam, who was bisexual. Landauer died violently: he was battered to death by a mob enraged about the anarchist loosening of traditional morals during the Munich revolution of 1919. 'For wanting to force us to share our women!' some are supposed to have yelled in a cruel irony of fate.

Erich Mühsam (1878–1934) came from a similar Jewish middle-class background. His father had a pharmacy in Lübeck, northern Germany. Mühsam made his name as an anarchist writer, and edited his own journal, *Kain*. Following the end of the Great War, he took a leading part in the Munich revolution: on 7 November 1918, he was the first to announce the abolition of the monarchy and to proclaim Bavaria a Council Republic. After its bloody suppression, Mühsam was condemned to years in prison. Shortly after the Nazis came to power, he was arrested after the burning of the Berlin *Reichstag*. He was tortured and murdered in 1934 in Oranienburg concentration camp by the Gestapo who staged a suicide by hanging Mühsam in the latrine. Not only have surviving fellow prisoners reported that Mühsam had told them, 'You won't see me being a coward' (Hirte, 1985) – meaning that he would never commit suicide – the rope he was hanging from is also said to have been knotted in a way which would have been impossible for Mühsam to achieve, as his fingers had been broken (he was a writer) during his torture (Möckel, 1997).

Albert "Johannes" Nohl (1882–1963) also came from a bourgeois background. His father, a privy councillor, was a classical scholar and assistant master of a secondary school. After completing school, Nohl was thrown out of the parental home not for being gay, but because his lovers belonged to the lower classes. – To this day, assessment of Nohl's life and work seems hampered by homophobic prejudice (Heuer, 2006a: 37–8). – He read theology and philosophy at Berlin University, 'to fathom the origins of that God-spectre and to explore those forces that again and again forced humanity away from true human goals' (Nohl, 1962: 2). He became a renowned expert on Franz von Baader (1765–1841), the romantic and mystical philosopher and follower of the anarchist William Godwin (1756–1836) (Nohl, 1912), and labelled by C.G. Jung one of the pioneers of modern psychology (1930: 326). In 1903, Nohl met Erich Mühsam: he 'saved me from greatest misery' (Nohl, 1946: 1). For the latter, Nohl was 'the most typical Bohemian alive' (in Götz v. Olenhusen, 2000: 102). On foot, they travelled throughout Europe and in 1905 lived in the village of Ascona on the Lago Maggiore in southern Switzerland (see Figure 9). Here, they met Otto Gross.

Ascona was then the countercultural capital of Europe, a nodal point where advocates of radical, innovative ideas – from nutrition, vegetarianism, nudism, and modern dance, to alternative spiritualities, including theosophy and the occult, as well as communism and anarchism – congregated. It was the centre for *Lebensreform*, reform of life in every aspect: numerous revolutionary impulses emanated from here that continue to impact on current cultural, intellectual and spiritual concerns. From ethno-psychoanalyst Georges Devereux (1908–85), Sombart borrows the term *espace culturel négativiste*,

FIGURE 9 Johannes Nohl and Erich Mühsam, Zurich, ca. 1905. © *Schweizerisches Sozialarchiv, Archiv*, Stefan Länzlinger, Zurich.

meaning the pole which constitutes itself in every social structure (ethnically and historically), from which the values and norms of the predominant culture are being challenged. [. . .] The centre of this 'ethnic disorder' is intra-psychically and sociologically the topos where all 'subcultures' and

> 'countercultures', all 'avant-gardes' and impulses for transformation gather. [. . .] At the beginning of the [twentieth] century, this was Ascona [. . .]. It is easy to link it with Berkeley, the Paris May, the Berlin communes, the peace movement, women's emancipation, the gay movement, and the greens [. . .]. Half a century later, Ascona is everywhere. (1992: 114–15)

Considering Ascona's impact from the today's post-postmodern perspective, we might rather speak of an *espace culturel* ***positiviste:*** in a Grossian way linking the individual with the collective-political and the spiritual, and adding a psycho-geographical dimension, thus considering a geographical place simultaneously as a psycho-topos – a place in the soul: 'there is an Ascona within each of us' (ibid.: 113). The countercultural pioneers called the Asconan hill where they settled *Monte Verità* – Mountain of Truth.

Sarcastically, a witness reminisced,

> in those years everybody who had been with Jesus was gathered in Ascona. In this strange world of astrology and occultism, psychoanalysis had its heyday. There was nothing new about it, though: Dr Gross, the thoroughly exploited source of Jung, inventor of the world-soul and Swiss psychoanalytic pope, had introduced it to Ascona. (Schulenburg, 1931: 568–9)

The encounter of Gross, Mühsam and Nohl had profound consequences: psychoanalysis became politicized and, one might say, revolutionary politics became psychoanalysed. What all three men had in common were traumatic relationships with their respective fathers. Mühsam provided Gross's rebellious protest with the political-ideological framework of anarchism – as he had for Nohl – and, analysing his newly found friends, Gross linked anarchist politics with individual change, and spirituality. Following his analysis with Gross, Mühsam expressed his enthusiasm to Freud (see Chapter 3).

All three were involved in the suicide of one of the founders of the alternative lifestyle commune, Lotte Hattemer (1876–1906): Gross supplied the overdose she killed herself with. He later justified himself,

> I realized that she was suffering from a severe complex. In a thorough three-day assessment I established that she was going to fall ill of dementia praecox, and she would turn imbecile, so that, in distress, she might throw herself off a cliff. But the thought that she might not die immediately, but be left mutilated, was horrible to me. I wanted to confront her with a decision to be made. To gain her confidence, I declared my love to her and then gave her two boxes with poison (5 g cocaine and 10 g morphine), saying that I was going to leave for Graz, to where she might either follow me or take the poison; but she was only to take the latter after I had left. When I got to Graz, I received news of her death from her father. I had the gratifying feeling to have done a redeeming deed. (In Berze and Stelzer, 1913: 30–31)

Early in 1907, Mühsam planned to found a journal together with Gross, *The Rising Generation. Journal for a Psychological Critique of Society* (Mühsam, 1984: 98). In the following year, Mühsam became one of the founder members of the *Sozialistischer Bund* (Socialist Association) along with Landauer – as did Martin Buber (1878–1965), who had claimed, 'We are the revolution!' (in Link-Salinger, 1977: 14). In 1909, Mühsam and Nohl founded the *Tat-Gruppe* (action-group) as the Munich branch of the *Bund*. Cynically, Szittya later commented, that Mühsam 'had tried to convert vagrants and criminals to anarchism' by 'raising their lives into consciousness with psychoanalysis' (1923: 16).

Following terrorist activities in Munich in response to the execution by firing squad, in Barcelona, of the anarchist pedagogue Francisco Ferrer (b. 1859) in October 1909, members of the *Gruppe Tat* were arrested, including Erich Mühsam. A trial, the *Soller-Prozess* – named after a pub, also known as a gay bar and meeting place for sex-workers of either gender and their pimps, where the anarchists, including Gross, used to meet – lasted for most of 1910. Several of the defendants mentioned and denounced Otto Gross. One testified, 'there was talk of throwing a bomb into the shop window of a jeweller to then steal. Possibly, Dr Gross discussed this plan. [. . .] [He] once also discussed breaking into the *Deutsche Bank'* (in Anon., 1910: 5). Questions around Hattemer's suicide four years earlier resurfaced. Another witness claimed that he had heard Gross and Nohl had murdered 'a certain Lotte, a well-known anarchist, in Ascona [. . .] because she was in on the secret of an anarchist undertaking she planned to give away, and hence it had been decided to eliminate her' (in Bochsler, 2004: 167). However, the Zurich police, asked for information by their Munich colleagues, reported that 'the general agreement had been that [Lotte Hattemer] had voluntarily poisoned herself; and that she had been regarded as rather eccentric, and it seems that she had already tried to kill herself on previous occasions' (ibid.: 168).

Whilst Mühsam wanted to found an anarchist republic in Ascona (Szeemann, 1999), Gross intended to establish a school for anarchists there, and considered publishing a *Journal on the Psychological Problems of Anarchism*. As mentioned, probably more in keeping with traditional patriarchal sexual fantasies than offering a valid alternative to them, Gross was also trying to revive the cult of Astarte (F. Jung 1921a: 197), the Middle Eastern goddess, whose cult included ritual orgies. In 1908/09, around the time he had been Gross's patient, the artist Paul Goesch created a fresco near Dresden, of which recently a larger than life-size ecstatically beckoning nude female dancer has been uncovered. The artist named her 'Salammbô', priestess of the goddess Tanit (Poley and Springer, 2015: 14), another name for Astarte. For Gross, hers was 'the most sublime religion of love that ever existed, mild, serene [. . .] and pro-sexual' (Werfel, 1990: 348) – this in spite of the fact that some of the festivities celebrating her apparently led to frenzied self-castration of her male followers (C.G. Jung, 1952, refers to this). Franz Jung described the concept of the orgy as one of Gross's therapeutic tools (1921a: 214–16). Rumours persist that Gross put these theories into practice, for example, in a 1919 text by Werfel, *The Black Mass* (1989), where, albeit in contrast to

any 'mild serenity', the ritual culminates in a bloodbath. Gross may also have had links to occult groups in Paris (Müller, 2000: 210). Whether he actually organized and participated in nude nocturnal dancing around a fire in the woods (ibid.), or whether such rumours are either the fantasies of their authors, or conflations of similar events initiated by others in Ascona, for example, the Hungarian innovator of modern dance Rudolf Laban (1879–1958) – photos of dancing nude in the course of his work exist – remains uncertain. The 1908 Burghölzli notes state that Gross did not like to be seen half-naked. Presumably, Gross's involvement in orgies may well have remained more theoretical. Considering what Gross's occasionally staying in the same clothes for weeks, day and night, might say about his relationship with his own body, it is rather difficult to imagine him dancing naked together with others in reckless abandon.

However, Gross's psychoanalysis-without-boundaries, as one might call it, did have negative repercussions – similar to Jung's analysis of Spielrein around the same time. During his analysis with Gross, Mühsam had an intense love relationship with Gross's wife. As understanding of intricate psychodynamics of the analytic relationship was as yet unknown,

> the triangle Gross-Nohl-Mühsam got into a deep *relationship crisis*: because of Mühsam's love-relationship with the wife of his analyst, Nohl felt his own relationship to Mühsam seriously threatened, and Nohl, in analysis with Gross at that time, seems to have managed with scheming indiscretions both within as well as outside of his analytical sessions to stir up everybody against everybody else, particularly Gross against Mühsam. (Götz v. Olenhusen, 2000a: 94)

This was actually not just a triangular situation, but one where four friends – initially two couples – decided to analyse each other. However, 'You can actually only truly be an anarchist as long as you stay on your own,' Harald Szeemann (1933–2005) mused. 'Even Bakunin said about himself that he was unbelievably good up to the moment the barricades were built, but he warned that one needed to send him away before new power-relationships could start, otherwise all would end in chaos' (Szeemann, 1999). A few years later, Mühsam reconsidered their emotional entanglements:

> When I remembered Johannes [Nohl]'s hysterical intrigues with which he had tried to separate Frieda [Gross] and myself, something boiled up in me. At that time – of course in the course of his analysis – he told Gross things about me that are simply outrageous. He repeated the indiscretions towards Frieda that I committed with him, and which certainly were not disrespectful, in such a way as if I had soiled Frieda. At that time Gross was so enraged with me that he was determined to kill me. I knew that, and constantly [. . .] feared that my life was in danger. One day I confronted Gross about that, explaining to him that I could not possibly protect myself from being

> murdered, but one should be decent enough not to commit this murder treacherously. But at that time the murderous plan had already been given up. [. . .] [W]e discussed all that and he apologized profusely. – But Frieda got permanently scarred emotionally. Neither of us can ever make up for that (2000: 27)

Sharing some of Gross's doubts concerning psychoanalysis's singular focus on sexuality, in a 1909 letter to Landauer, Mühsam referred

> to the Grossian-Freudian teachings, which probably contain a lot that is worthwhile. They want to address the disturbances ('complexes') in the mind and the emotions by 'psychoanalysis', i.e. by uncovering series of memories and associations dating back to earliest childhood. Now they say that all human characteristics are linked to one's sexual life and hence the repressed memories are all to be found in one's sexual psyche. [. . .] I have experimented with the analysis of associations on several acquaintances and I have found that the associations of some people are much more strongly determined by the social feeling, with others by sexual feelings and with some (e.g. Nohl) very strongly generally cosmically. By aiming with their questionings at triggering sexual associations only, the future analysts actually create new repressions of memories that are linked with the earliest social and religious experiences. That is where I believe the error lies in their method. (2000: 14–16)

Unconvinced, Landauer responded:

> I cannot really say much about the theories of Freud and Gross, as I only know of them from hearsay. I believe that in the theory there is a positive core – which is nothing new [. . .]. Of course it is blatant madness to want to interpret everything sexually [. . .]. Someone, who tars everybody with the same brush, and then such a brush, is a mad criminal. With all of those who have gone into analysis with Gross, I have seen the most catastrophic effect and I fear that due to his suggestions, some of those will have a screw loose for the rest of their lives [. . .]. I would not want to wish him that I ever find the time to thoroughly research his sinister dealings and to settle accounts with him. (1929: 265–6)

The conflict became public. As if paradoxically almost echoing some of Gross's thoughts, Landauer had written:

> The degeneracy and corruption of morals in our time long since have been expressing themselves not only in the relationships between people but in the conditions and institutions of society. It has come to pass that the bodies and souls of people have started to fall ill. Those who are most sensitive – and

> they most often are the better ones – have been infected first. Nervousness, weakness of nerves, hysteria and manifestations like that are social illnesses. (1910: 50–51)

But then, Landauer continued, 'the cures attempted in response to them, e.g. the often next to criminal and insane psychoanalyses, are often worse manifestations of decay than the illnesses themselves' (ibid.: 51) – anticipating by three years Karl Kraus's famous aphorism about psychoanalysis being that mental illness of which it believes itself to be the cure. Landauer added:

> In these circles, reigned over by degenerate, unchained and rootless little wenches, the very term 'father' has a loathsome ring [. . .]. They want to establish promiscuity, matriarchy, in plain German, uncultured and undignified piggery [. . .]. Today, this is called 'free love'. (Ibid.: 50)

Mühsam countered with an article arguing for matriarchy (1910), to which Landauer responded with another one on marriage (1910a), which he began by saying, 'Comrade Mühsam in his article 'Matriarchy' ventured into an area into which I do not want to follow him' (146), concluding 'Marriage was; it is, albeit seldom enough; it shall be' (ibid.: 151). As mentioned, Landauer had a particular problem with homosexuality. Szittya reported:

> Gustav Landauer on several occasions [. . .] unfortunately went as far as saying that he fought against psychoanalysis because (as he once told me) it led to homosexuality. There were anarchists like Dr Otto Gross and Franz Jung who in terms of sexual freedom went as far as claiming that sexuality could only be anarchist when several women and men lived together in communally shared sexuality. (1923: 149–50)

Landauer publicly expressed his homophobia in attacking psychoanalysis in general and Gross in particular. This became a painful issue between him and Mühsam, who had a long homoerotic relationship with Nohl, which he experienced as 'the most powerful event in my life' (1996: 22). Mühsam's first published book, in 1903, was *Homosexuality. A Polemic* (1996). He wrote homoerotic love poems (ibid.: 18–19, 111), and fought publicly for liberalization of the anti-homosexual laws of Imperial Germany (ibid.: 67–76).

Nohl favourably reviewed a collection of texts Landauer had just published (Landauer 1967). Yet he not only also questioned Landauer's understanding of marriage, but also wrote, 'psychoanalysis, capable, with its method, to raise back into consciousness the repressed positive realizations and desires, ultimately has to end in prayer, i.e. in the passionate imagining and in turning towards and into that which has been recognized as good' (Nohl 1911: 84).

Landauer turned to his friend, the philosopher Ludwig Berndl (1878–1946): 'To see Nohl's article in the *Sozialist* is more torment than joy for me' (1911a: 101).

It appears that it was particularly Nohl's linking of psychoanalysis with religion – and radical politics – which incensed Landauer: he responded with a three-part (!) article, 'God and Socialism' (1911), where he stated, 'I clearly sense what kind of Christianity this is, which liberates from sin and matter just like psychoanalysis is supposed to liberate from deep-rooted filth' (Pt. II: 101). Both Landauer's and Nohl's Christianity was rooted in German mysticism – Meister Eckhart in particular, in Landauer's case, Franz von Baader in Nohl's, mystics who linked spirituality and social concerns, as did Tolstoy, a contemporary influence both valued highly. It seems probable that what actually separated the two – 'Here I break with Johannes Nohl, and am his declared enemy' (ibid.: 102) – was their different sexuality. Was it that which Landauer indirectly referred to as 'filth'? He wrote to Berndl that 'it would be good if you could deal with this heinous matter at some greater length; since it is clear from his definition what for Nohl links psycho-analysis and prayer' (1911a: 102). Berndl 'might perhaps show that and how psycho-analysis and Christianity were mutually exclusive' (ibid.).

Berndl's thus written-to-order article was published in *Der Sozialist* as 'Some comments on psychoanalysis' (1911): 'It is a basic rule of psycho-analysis [. . .] to induce the "patient" to talk nonsense' (ibid.: 103). Berndl claimed to have spoken with a psychoanalyst:

> I am afraid I am unable to reproduce here the whole conversation, which bordered on the ravings of lunatics. There was much talk of fat sausages that when swallowed made one gag, of potbellies and of butchers and such. One can easily imagine how that was interpreted. (Ibid.: 104)

At this point Landauer inserted a footnote:

> I may be allowed a footnote here since I have been the first to have mentioned the criminal madness of certain psycho-analysts in *Der Sozialist*. – Nobody who has not been in contact with these circles can imagine their activities. – One of the worst Freudians, a neurologist, who has managed to become famous enough so that it was even possible for him to hunt down in a renowned journal a young girl that the parents had withdrawn from his influence, once sat with a lady who put a cigarette into her mouth the wrong way round. Accidentally, we fools would say. Because of a 'complex', says the analyst of the Freudian school. He exclaimed in horror, 'Phooey! What's stirring there in you?' – It is impossible to decide whether he came from madness to psycho-analysis or from psycho-analysis to madness. – To write this footnote, I have noted on the manuscript page: 'Note on reverse side.' Unimaginable what conclusions concerning my character a Freudian draws from this! (Ibid.)

Gross later complained that '*Herr* Landauer infamously twisted the truth' (1913d: 78), and had refused to publish his response. Considering the high intellectual

standard of both Landauer's and Berndl's other published works, the level to which they stoop in this instance is surprising. Might it be understood as an expression of the terror of the other within their own selves – be that in the form of the unconscious or, particularly in Landauer's footnote, of homosexuality? In a letter to Mühsam concerning Nohl's review, Landauer had referred to the latter's 'abnormality' (1929: 372).

With the 'hunting down [. . .] a young girl' Landauer referred to the events Gross had described in 'Parental violence' (1908) about his analytic work with a young woman:

> Elisabeth Lang is an unusually and highly gifted personality with a very specially formed character. In the parental milieu she had been exposed to an unusually severe contrast to her own character-traits and by the rigid effects of an incapacity for change on her parents' part she had been driven into particularly deep conflicts. These conflicts alone are the cause of her nervous alteration and any further influence of the parental milieu constitutes a further undermining of her health. (Ibid.: 79)

Gross described how the parents terminated the treatment the moment there was an improvement in their daughter's condition, and put her into a 'lunatic clinic' – a situation which frequently occurs: the disturbance of the child having a specific function within the balance of the family, which often is only reluctantly relinquished – or not at all, as in Gross's case: 'She is absolutely not mentally ill and in need of a clinic, but now to a particularly high degree there is the danger of a psychical alteration due to the shock from the deprivation of liberty' (ibid.: 78).

From today's perspective, it is strange to note that Gross published the actual name of his patient – just as Jung did, only a few years later, in *Symbols of Transformation,* where the 'patient' in question was not even his patient: might Gross have used Lang's name with her agreement, was his article a public effort to help her regain independence? If we compare Gross's attitude, so clearly siding with his young patient, with that of Freud – for example, in *Dora's Case* (1905), as well as that of colleagues even today – it becomes evident how far Gross was ahead of his time. Also, with hindsight, Gross's own deprivation of liberty five years later comes to mind, as well as Stekel's unempathic attitude to Gross's early deprivational trauma, as evidenced in his published case history (1953). And Stekel was obviously positively disposed towards Gross, as his frequently quoting him shows!

Lang's parents sent her to a sanatorium in Switzerland, where Gross managed

> to see her secretly in order to continue the treatment. When her family discovered this, she was sent away to a psychiatric clinic in Tubingen. Gross feared that the treatment would be harmful since the doctors were not familiar with Freud's theories. [. . .] Gross's article raised a public outcry and Elisabeth Lang was eventually released. (Lucas, 1989: 58)

Apparently, Gross even considered legal means, as he confided to Frieda Weekley:

> I am at the moment engaged in a very interesting piece of work that comes to me at a wonderfully appropriate time. I am making an attempt, through an intervention at the Guardianship Court, to free Elisabeth Lang who is now being held at home by her parents in a disgraceful deprivation of her liberty. The prospects seem to be good – I now have to produce the report for the lawyer establishing that the compulsory restraint in her parents' house is dangerous to her health –. If the case were to be successful, it would have great implications. It would be the first legal acknowledgement of the right to the protection of the individuality – or, as one of the lawyers has said: proof that the Philistines are dangerous to health. (Gross and Weekley, 1990: 190; t.m.)

C.G. Jung commented approvingly to Freud about Gross's article concerning his work with Lang, 'Incidentally, have you seen [. . .] the sort of thing Gross is writing now? If he keeps it up, the outcome may yet be good' (Freud and Jung, 1974: 174). By contrast, apparently without hesitation, Landauer took the side of the parents who were known to him (1929: 216–17). In his diary, Mühsam commented on Berndl's and Landauer's attack on Gross in 'the *Sozialist*, where [. . .] Berndl slimes out an impertinently shallow article on psychoanalysis. A footnote by Landauer, where he publicly disseminates private information about Gross's way to look for symbols in gestures, completes Berndl's filth' (2000: 19).

Two years later, the writer Ludwig Rubiner (1861–1920) explained, 'Gross is a psychoanalyst; it is easy for stupid or evil-minded people to distort the results of psychoanalytic research [. . .] (usually they serve for men's jokes)' (1913: 1177).

In the summer of 1911, Mühsam visited Gross in Zürich:

> Sophie Benz's death preys terribly on this poor chap [Benz was Gross's lover who had committed suicide some three months earlier; see Chapter 6 and the Appendix]. With her he has lost everything a man can possibly lose and often during these days I saw him cry about his beloved. Terrible, too, is his cocaine addiction. Always on the point of dashing to the pharmacy, always with the box in his hand and the quill in his nose, which is always injured and smeared with ointment. Lately he is hallucinating a lot, hears insults against himself, that he is a coward etc. I empathized strongly and imperceptibly tried to use his psycho-analytic method on him. Gradually I succeeded to invalidate the self-accusations concerning Sophie he reproaches himself with. In any case I am very certain now that not only did he not suggest suicide to her, but he actually worked for a long time against her tendency to commit suicide. (Mühsam, 2000: 13–14)

Mühsam describes analysing his friend and former analyst – a mutual analysis stretching over years:

> Saturday, Gross had a very bad day. Reitze [anarchist friend] and I forced him to completely change clothes. For a fortnight he had not taken the shirt off of his body. He had many hallucinations and was very unhappy and depressed. The evening before he had not wanted to go to bed so I stayed with him until 9.30 in the morning. (Ibid.: 15)

Weeks later, Mühsam still received distressing news from Zurich about Gross

> who has lapsed into a state of complete madness. He is hallucinating a lot, smashes mirrors, lamps and other things in a daze, then wipes off his damaged nose on everything within reach, like milk-pots etc., totally mad and sick. [. . .] Reports like this deeply upset me [. . .]. I feel so sorry for Otto, who, in spite of everything, is one of the finest and greatest people I know. [. . .] – My wish for Otto Gross is that he should die before night descends. (Ibid.: 17)

Yet a week later, Mühsam heard of Gross's health having much improved, and that he planned to admit himself to a psychiatric hospital in order to be completely cured. This may well refer to Gross's treatment at the Mendrisio psychiatric clinic (see Appendix):

> In the meantime, his infamous parents have secretly had him under observation in Switzerland in order to have him interned by force. Due to the bottomless stupidity of the police, [Gross] got wind of this by sheer chance and fled to France. (Ibid.: 19)

In this summer of 1911, Landauer again challenged Mühsam:

> Psycho-Analysis! [. . .] I know more about it than you think [. . .]. Against Gross I have been as hard as one can possibly be, as hard as for the sake of a great cause you always are against men whom you cannot perceive as individuals any longer but only as types. [. . .] Gross is that type in the world that I fight to the death, whilst for you that is not the case, [. . .] but you should say to yourself: What Landauer does, he does for the sake of rationality. (1929: 372)

In his diary, Mühsam mentioned a letter from Gross, in which the latter had referred to having countered Landauer's attack in *Der Sozialist*. Apparently, Gross had also enclosed Landauer's response, saying that he had to show Gross's article to someone else, who alone would be able to make a decision concerning publication of Gross's text. Actually, this was none other than his friend Martin Buber, to whom Landauer had explained:

> I am yet again writing with a request to you to fill in for me as editor or, if you like, to give a diagnosis, which I shall take as decisive, as this time it is a complicated case. Well: in the *Sozialist* I did call this Dr Gross mad and I had

> sound reasons for that. [. . .] I was speaking in Munich with Mühsam, who among other things reproaches me most severely for my polemic against the beloved psycho-analysts [. . .]
>
> This Dr Gross, now in some mental institution, has written the included paper which I received today. At first glance, I thought it was quite sensible and I had no doubts that it had to be published, and in that case I would not have needed to trouble you. But then I went for a walk and I thought that it was not quite right that somebody who is allowed to contribute to the *Sozialist* should be called mad, and I therefore decided to give the man satisfaction, had already composed in my mind the brief explanation which I wanted to write. But now, tonight, I have read in the article, and – now I must be allowed to say why I am turning to you; do not let me influence you: I would not have thought of madness in connection with this concoction but rather of feeblemindedness. Apart from a wretched German [language]: miserably thought, a meagre, empty tying together of words, presenting the profoundest and most complex issues as something simple and indubitable, in short: dilettantism in a scientific jargon, which so easily seduces the uneducated due to its learned unconditionality. (1929: 381–2)

Unsurprisingly, Buber replied:

> As a c o n t r i b u t i o n for the *Sozialist*, this stuff is totally unsuitable; it is unfounded pomposity without any content. In that respect the answer can only be a 'No'. Whether it can or should be rejected as a r e s p o n s e, I cannot judge, as I lack the experience of how to deal with things like this when one edits a journal; beyond this experience I have to say that it appears to be fair to me to publish a brief and matter-of-fact response, even if as an intellectual expression it is inferior. (In ibid.: 383)

What makes Buber's condemnation a particularly important document is the fact that in the article in question, published later in *Die Aktion*, Gross explicitly wrote of the conflict between that which is one's own and that which is the other's (1913d: 79). This text forms part of the foundation of Gross's interrelational psychology. Buber's main contribution to philosophy has been the concept of 'I and thou. The relation of subject to subject celebrated in [. . .] [his] ethical and religious philosophy [. . .] Placing relationality (and so, intersubjectivity) ahead of both subject and object' (Honderich, ed., 1995: 386). Thematically, Gross and Buber here obviously appear to be very close indeed in their endeavours. However, Buber's first explicit work on this concept was only written between 1919 and 1923, almost a decade after Gross's paper. Buber himself wrote in 1954 that initially his concept of a dialogical relationship had begun around 1905 in connection with the possibility of such a relationship between man and God in Hasidic Judaism (Wehr, 1979: 30).

Yet, Gross's concept of an interrelational psychology can be traced right back to his earliest writings (1901a: 13).

Buber's biographer Wehr neither mentions Buber's friendship with Landauer nor his involvement with anarchism, although Buber was not only a founding member of the *Tat*-group, but later also the executor of Landauer's will and the editor of two volumes of his letters (1929), comprising of a total of some 900 pages. Wehr just describes the years 1904–12, as 'Buber's mystical period. Extensive seclusion with simultaneous intensification of scientific work' (1979: 137). Accordingly, sometime between 1905 and 1916, Buber had the idea that what he had originally conceived of as an I/Thou-relationship between man and God might equally apply to relationships between individuals. Did Buber judge Gross's article on a subject thus close to his own in as harsh a way as he did because of this very proximity of their ideas? Could it have been Gross's text which gave him the idea – or at the very least contributed to its formulation – to look at human relationships in the terms that he was initially conceptualizing in the religious dimension? What Buber's sharp condemnation of Gross's paper proves beyond any doubt is that Buber knew of Gross's interrelational psychology at a time when he himself was just in the process of starting to work on a relational philosophy – an influence as yet unacknowledged in Buber studies.

Landauer, of course, was pleased by Buber's negative response, and replied, 'With regard to Gross I now have to make my own decision, which is easy now with your diagnosis' (1929: 383). He concluded:

> If the utmost border of deplorableness has been crossed, one can immediately say: no, this contribution should not be presented to the readers.
>
> That is what it was all about for me, to hear from you whether the contribution is not just bad, but bad beyond measure. That this is your objective opinion, I believe I can understand from your words. Now I have a judgement the objectivity of which I can rely upon. (Ibid.: 384)

Given the circumstances, it is rather surprising what Landauer here calls 'objectivity'.

With his dialogical philosophy, Buber in turn had an important influence on Emmanuel Levinas's (1906–95) 'analysis of the "face-to-face" relation with the Other' (Atterton, 2002). Like Buber – and Gross – before him, Levinas linked the human and the divine, for example, when he speaks of standing before the Other as one would approach the holiest of holies, or offering to find the trace of the face of God in the Other (Pickering, 2008: 50).

Two decades later, Mühsam looked back on his argument with Landauer:

> The only profound conflict I had with Gustav Landauer in the long years of our friendship concerned our strongly diverging attitude towards marriage, family, sexual exclusivity, jealousy and promiscuity – a conflict that could not darken our personal relationship for long, but that could actually never be completely bridged either. Landauer saw the family founded on marriage as a

> prerequisite for 'the order through associations of voluntariness', as he defined the anarchist society that we were both striving for. I saw (and see) in marriage as an institution protected by society, the root of a coercion that destroys the personality; in the identification of monogamous life and faithfulness a falsification of basic ethics; the acknowledgement of marital jealousy a feeling that justifies claims as the fostering of the worst authoritarian strivings; and the identification of love and mutual surveillance a slave-moral that is deeply contrary to freedom and thus represents reactionary interests. [. . .] The general propositions of the psychoanalysts – Dr Otto Gross – about the essence of jealousy and the compulsory character of the patriarchal family came very close to my own ideas on these matters, without though integrating them fully into a vision of a future society in its entirety.(1961: 302–3)

In the autumn of 1911, Franz Jung (1888–1963) came to Munich to study economics. He joined the *Tat*-group, where he met Gross. Their friendship was to become one of the most important relationships in either's life. At the same time, Jung began writing creatively, finding ways of giving expressive form to the emotional and psychological vicissitudes of relating. It is likely that, concerning 'revolutionary literature', Gross had Franz Jung in mind when, in spring 1912, he shared with the Swiss anarcho-syndicalist physician Fritz Brupbacher (1874–1945):

> I have not yet got around to publish about my current thoughts on ethical-psychological problems – I have come to realize that only within revolutionary literature can there be a place for the treatment of such questions. [. . .]
>
> For awhile now I have been thinking of publishing a journal myself, something like Journal for Psychological Problems of Anarchism, as a kind of inner revolutionary preparation. –
>
> But this impulse has been rather blocked by an adverse affair with Landauer's journal – [. . .] the attack [. . .] on psychoanalysis and [. . .] on my person. At the time I sent a reply which I believe to be one of my very best papers in which I have mainly tried to argue for the inestimable future of psychoanalysis as the very soul of tomorrow's revolutionary movement. Landauer has refused to publish this. [. . .]
>
> That I am discredited a priori in the very circles that are important to me – and anyway, that <u>this</u> comes from anarchist quarters – in response to my first attempt to put my talents in the service of anarchism, has upset me to such an extent that [. . .] I have been unable to publish studies that pertain to that field. (In Heuer, 2000a: 71)

In his introduction to Gross's works that he planned to publish, Franz Jung relates an 'anecdote': without saying when or where it happened, he describes Gross's participation – together with two friends, a painter and an engineer – in a politically motivated armed hold-up of a small food store. The three do not succeed and get

arrested by the police. At the police station, Gross introduces himself as a forensic psychiatrist and manages to convince the constable that they had just been conducting an experiment, upon which all three are released (Jung 1921a: 198–201).

During spring 1913, Gross and Franz Jung announced their plan in the Berlin radical journal *Die Aktion* to publish a monthly journal, *Sigyn* – named after the wife of the Norse fire-god Loki,

> not directly concerned with propagating and representing psychoanalysis, but rather with portraying cultural and economic problems from a basis of an individual psychology and to propagandistically advocate the knowledge of a new ethics as a preparation for social transformation. (Gross and F. Jung, 1913)

This plan to devote a journal to the linking of the personal with the political could not be realized: at the instigation of his father, on 9 November 1913, Gross was arrested in Jung's flat and brought back to Austria under guard. Unbeknownst to Gross, both his parents had travelled to Berlin – perhaps to ensure that the not strictly lawful arrest and deportation of their son was executed smoothly? Somewhat ironically, at the founding of the International Society of Sexual Science on 16 November, elected as vice-chair was

> Professor Hans Gross, who had seen to it that his son Dr Otto Gross was institutionalized by force exactly eight days earlier. In every treatment, the physician Dr Otto Gross has recognized sexuality as one of the concentric spheres of transforming forces. (R[ubiner], 1913)

Franz Jung initiated an international press campaign for the release of his friend. Special issues of *Die Aktion* and the Munich *Revolution* were devoted to this cause and accounts of the scandalous events were published by Gross's friends, Franz Jung, Erich Mühsam, and many writers and intellectuals – among them Guillaume Apollinaire, Blaise Cendrars, Simon Guttmann, Maximilian Harden, Alfred Kerr, Richard Oehring, Franz Pfemfert, Ludwig Rubiner, Hans von Weber, and Arnold Zweig (all in C. Jung and Anz, eds, 2002) – in most of Germany's literary and political journals. Reports appeared in the daily press of Berlin, Vienna, Prague, and Paris. The Academic Association for Literature and Music in Vienna distributed ten thousand leaflets, 'Cry of Distress! Free Otto Gross!' (Dehmel, 1914). Gross had been ultimately been transferred to Troppau (today Opava, Czech Republic), in the east of the Austrian Empire, because the authorities feared armed attempts by his anarchist friends to free him. The director of the clinic reported to Gross's father that his son had

> wanted to instigate a large movement in Berlin to lead the anarchist cause to success, that anarchists from abroad congregated in Berlin, all getting in touch with his party and his followers [. . .] [Gross] had also taken part in a clash

> with the police, where he received a blow to the head with a caoutchouc [rubber]-truncheon which had rendered him unconscious. (in Hurwitz, 1979: 234)

But the press campaign alone was successful. Franz Jung remembered later:

> I was invited to the Troppau institution by telegraph. I was welcomed just like an inspecting minister from the Vienna government. In the meantime Gross had risen from the category of the incurable to that of an assistant doctor at the institution. (1991: 90)

Gross later described the case of one of the psychiatric patients he treated at the Troppau clinic, Anton Wenzel Groß (1920: 302–4). Franz Jung used the same case as the basis for one of his prose texts, *The Groß Case* (1920/21).

At the outbreak of the Great War, Franz Jung volunteered for military service, but deserted in December 1914 after having experienced fighting on the Eastern Front. Just as Jung had sheltered Gross in his Berlin flat in the previous year, Jung found refuge in Vienna with Gross, who wrote a medical certificate declaring him unfit for further military service (in F. Jung, 1988: 19–20). In 1915, in a strange reversal of fate, Jung was arrested in Gross's flat in Vienna, then transported across the border to be imprisoned before being transferred to a psychiatric institution in Berlin. However, from the autumn of 1915 onwards, Jung and Gross co-edited a journal, *The Free Road*, publishing texts and graphics by a number of expressionist writers and artists. The journal ran for six issues until 1917, its subtitle *Vorarbeit* (preparatory work) implying preparation for the revolution. As its motto, the launch issue carried Thomas a Kempis's, 'What do you seek rest, since you are born for unrest?' In the fourth issue, Gross and Jung declared:

> Life is hard if it is to be experience, it is a most precious good, and yet there is nobody among us who is able to fully exhaust this being in all its effects and its power, yet it seems small and irrelevant were we not able to grasp its meaning and consequences for the individual and everyone else and to find it confirmed from breath to breath. (1916)

Most of the texts published dealt with the issues of relating and the search for authentic emotional experience. Gross contributed 'On the conflict between self and other' (1916). Among the artists involved was Georg Schrimpf (1889–1938), and also Elsa Schiemann (1878–1927). She later married Leopold Weiss (1900–92), a nephew of Dorian Feigenbaum (see Chapter 3). Anton Kuh remembered of 1917 Vienna:

> Leopold Weiss, secondary school-pupil, neglects his studies and absconds from his parental home for days in order to spend time in coffeehouses and

> nocturnal walks with the psychoanalyst Otto Gross whom he adores. This bewitched, uncompromising dream-interpreter, a kind of founder of a new religion in the fanaticism of his talks, is his master. Arm in arm, in complete disregard of waiters or water-glasses, he walks with him a couple of hundred times around the pool-table of the [café] *Herrenhof*, Gross, the teacher, Weiss his faithful Johannes. (1994: 158)

In the 1920s, Weiss converted to Islam, changing his name to Muhammad Asad. He translated the Qur'an, became an adviser to the Saudi Arabian Court, played a role in the founding of the state of Pakistan, and represented this country at the United Nations. He became 'a mediator between cultures, an idealist, and maybe also a utopian, striving for the realization of an ideal community' (Windhager, 2006: 226). A recent documentary shows that he continues to be widely known and highly regarded in the current Arab world (Misch, 2008). Regrettably, given the current political climate, in contrast to this film, there is no mention of his Jewish roots in his autobiography from the 1950s, where Asad remembered his early years in Vienna:

> No doubt psychoanalysis was at the time an intellectual revolution of the first magnitude and one felt in one's bones that this flinging-open of new, hitherto barred doors of recognition was bound to affect deeply – and perhaps change entirely – man's thinking about himself and society [. . .] and many were the evenings I spent in Vienna's cafés listening to exciting discussions between some of the early pioneers of psychoanalysis, such as Alfred Adler, Hermann Steckl [*sic*], and Otto Gross. (Asad, 1980: 58–9)

From the final year of the Great War, Werfel describes a conversation between friends on an early morning walk in Vienna after a night of drinking in 1918, 'the late summer of the end of the world' (1990: 309). Under fictitious names, these friends are Werfel himself, the journalist Egon Erwin Kisch (1885–1948), and Otto Gross. Kisch muses that

> 'Without decisive action, there won't be a revolution' [. . .]
>
> Then, turning to [Gross], 'You do know that all of Vienna is undermined, [. . .] all hollow down there [. . .] If only we had a few blokes! It wouldn't be difficult to blow up all of sow-Vienna . . . .'
>
> [Gross]: 'You really believe that? . . . It would be possible? . . . One could blow up all of Vienna? [. . .]'
>
> 'No problem', says [Kisch].
>
> A radiant enthusiasm spreads over [Gross]'s face. [. . .] 'To blow up? . . . But that would be wonder- . . . wonderful!'
>
> [. . .] [Gross] is serious. (Ibid.: 356–7)

Months later, amidst the chaos and unrest at the end of the Great War, the three are together again, fantasizing, in an illegal meeting, 'to seize the reins of the great revolution' (ibid.: 422) – Kisch exclaims, 'What a joy to live when the world goes under!' (ibid.: 419). Gross demands for himself a 'ministry for the liquidation of the bourgeois family and sexuality' (ibid.: 424). Presumably, he meant a ministry for sexuality and the liquidation of the bourgeois family, since it is rather doubtful that Gross had the abolition of sexuality in mind, although in the original German the phrase is just as ambiguous as in translation.

It makes sense to assume that, after so many years of what Gross continuously called 'preparatory work for the revolution', the initial success of the Russian Revolution in 1917 would have been an overwhelmingly hope-inspiring event. In his final texts, Gross no longer speaks of anarchism but of communism. It is, therefore, 'The basic communist' – and not anarchist – 'concept in the symbolism of paradise' (1919a), published in a journal called *Sowjet*. Gross wrote of communism as 'an inner calling' (1919: 338), and wrote that 'Once it is shown that repressing the values of one's own nature means sacrificing the highest human potential, a demand for revolution as the result of the psychology of the unconscious becomes absolute' (1919b: 281). In 1919, Gross referred to the leaders of the Russian Revolution – Lunacharsky (1875–1933), the Soviet People's Commissar of Education (1919c: 351–2) and, in 1920, both Kropotkin as well as Lenin (1870–1924) in the same text (2005a: 240, 242). Gross speaks of the 'new education, as it already seems to have been realized in Russia' (1920b: 395):

> The psychology of the unconscious, therefore appears to be called upon as a focus of the new intellectual life and as a supplement and counterpoise to technical and practical training, and seems well fitted to take a leading role in education and a dominant agent of the new schooling. (Ibid.: 397)

Obviously, Gross's considerations pre-date Lenin's denouncement of anarchists as 'enemies of the state' in his *Left-wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder* (1920), written and published after Gross's death, as well as the Bolsheviks' bludgeoning of anarchist rebellions in the Ukraine and Kronstadt in 1921.

Gross may have been actively involved in the revolutionary uprisings of 1918/19 in Berlin and/or Munich, but there is no evidence for this so far, except for a brief reference in a 1920 obituary:

> Dr Gross had an interesting appearance, presenting a strange mixture of revolutionary fanaticism linked with a naïve utopianism. During the revolutionary days he was part of the communist movement in Munich, side by side with its leaders Landauer and Mühsam whom he feels close to. (Anon. 1920a: 5)

Already in 1913, painfully aware of the need for inner change, for re-education after the revolution, Gross had worried:

> None of the revolutions in the course of history succeeded in establishing freedom for the individual. They all fell flat, each the forerunner of a new bourgeoisie, they ended in a hurried desire to conform to general norms. They all failed, because the revolutionary of yesterday carried within himself the authority [. . .] that puts any individuality in chains. (1913d: 80)

Several of Gross's final published papers are dedicated to 'a renewal of education after the liberation of the proletariat' (1919c: 351). However, another text, 'On renewed preparatory work: concerning education' (1920b), published posthumously in the following year, begins less hopefully with, 'The final values we have saved from the ruin of the revolution are scattered attempts towards a new, more profoundly founded and internally secured revolution' (ibid.: 395). Gross prefaced his text by quoting from a poem by Stefan George (1868–1933):

> You scrabbled in the ashes,
> Poked your pale fingers in,
> Trembling, flinching, snatching:
> Will there be light again? (ibid.)

It seems that, for Gross, there was no longer any light, no longer any hope: he had reached the end of his tether. The so deeply longed-for revolution had failed. He had not died in an act of terrorism, described seven years earlier:

> Actually, I'd like to live until my 45th year, and then I want to perish, most preferably at an anarchist assassination: I would kill a public prosecutor or the foreman of a jury who convicted my friends at a trial, and die with him. For me, that would be the best! (In Berze and Stelzer, 1913: 31)

Yet, only weeks before his death, Gross announced that 'at The Free High School for Proletarian Culture he [*sic*] plans to teach courses on The Psychology of the Revolution with an introduction to the Psychology of the Unconscious (psychoanalytic psychology)' (1919c).

After Gross's death in 1920, the writer Otto Kaus (1891–194?), later an Adlerian analyst, who died during an Allied air raid on Berlin at some time in the early 1940s, was the only one to write a eulogy in the Vienna journal *Sowjet*, of which he was the editor:

> Germany's best revolutionary minds have been educated and directly inspired by him. In a whole series of creations by the younger generation one can

> find his ideas elaborated with that specific clarity and far-reaching consistency that he gave them. Erich Mühsam, Franz Werfel, Leonhard Frank, Franz Jung graduated from his school. (1920: 55)

In the conclusion of this chapter, I present summaries of what became of three of those who 'graduated from [Gross's] school' (ibid.), two of whom Kaus mentions: Erich Mühsam and Franz Jung. I also include Johannes Nohl, who worked as a psychoanalyst.

The very last text published by Erich Mühsam during his lifetime was a review of 'Three books on the exploration of the soul' (1998). The books referred to were Freud's *New Introductory Lectures*, the *Almanac of Psychoanalysis* (*Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag*), and *Crisis of Psychology – Psychology of Crisis*, by the 'Study group for dialectic-materialistic psychology', Berlin. Mühsam's text appeared in the *Berliner Tageblatt*, on 26 February 1933. On that day, four weeks after Hitler had come to power, Mühsam had spoken at the final meeting of the *Schutzverband Deutscher Schriftsteller* (Protective Association of German Writers):

> I tell you: we, who have come together here, will never see each other again. We are a lost battalion. But if we perish a hundred times in the prisons of the Third Reich, we still have to speak the truth today, have to shout aloud our protests. (In Hirte, 1985: 437)

A day later, the Berlin *Reichstag* burned and Mühsam, already with a train ticket to get out of Germany, was arrested in the early hours of the following day. He was murdered a year later in Oranienburg concentration camp near Berlin.

Just weeks after Gross's death in Berlin, with two comrades from a radical splinter group of the Communist Party, Franz Jung (Figure 10) hijacked a trawler in the North Sea and forced the captain to take them to Murmansk, where he planned to put the ship at the service of the Bolshevik revolutionaries. From there, they travelled to Moscow and met Lenin – who reprimanded Jung for splitting the working class. It is claimed that the discussion led Lenin to denounce *'Left-Wing' Communism* [as] *an Infantile Disorder* (1920). Jung returned to Germany and was given a prison sentence. He wrote proletarian literature, as well as *The Technique of Happiness. Psychological Guidelines* (1921), a book that can be seen as a direct continuation of Gross's ideas. In 1921, Jung joined Max Hölz's (1889–1933) armed uprising in central Germany. The revolt quashed, Jung fled to Holland where he was caught and incarcerated in Breda penitentiary, where he wrote the introduction for the edition of Gross's collected works he intended to publish (1921a). Among his prison notes, there is a pre-formulation of Tolle's 'violence is weakness disguised as strength' (1999: 36): 'Rage is the realization of weakness' (Jung 1916–21). Jung also noted, 'The new culture is joy' (ibid.). Released from prison due to Bolshevik comrades granting him Russian citizenship, Jung went to Moscow, organized a campaign for a hunger crisis in the Volga region, and got involved in industrial enterprises. Disappointed by increasingly Stalinist party politics, Jung fled

FIGURE 10 Franz Jung, ca. 1919. © *Edition Nautilus Verlag*, Hanna Mittelstädt, Hamburg.

Soviet Russia as a stowaway and lived under a false name in Berlin. In 1924, he planned to publish an edition of Fourier's selected works. In the late 1920s, Jung met Reich in Berlin.

In 1933, weeks after the Nazis came to power, Franz Jung's books were publicly burnt together with those of other progressive writers – including Freud's. Jung survived imprisonment in Germany, was able to flee, criss-crossing most of Europe, and ended up in a work camp in Italy which was later liberated by the Americans. Jung emigrated to the US, and published *The Albigensians. Revolt Against the Fear of Life*, an essay about 'the place of the individual in society' (1948/50: 412). In 1955, he considered the similarities between Gross and Reich, and that the latter appeared to him like 'a direct copy' (F. Jung, 1996: 491) of the former. In the early '60s Jung authored several texts about Reich (F. Jung 1961, 1963), and thus became an important voice in the renaissance that Reich's works enjoyed in the students' movement of those years. He also worked on a translation of Reich's *Listen, Little Man!* (Reich, 1972) and intended to publish it together with Reich's *The Murder of Christ* (Reich, 1972a; F. Jung, 1996: 1020). Books by Reich he is glad to have received are mentioned in the last known letter Jung wrote (ibid.: 1104). His interest in Reich may be understood as an expression of his 'life-long interest in the theories of Otto Gross' (Michaels, 1989: 165). He died in Stuttgart, Germany, on 21 January 1963.

Only a day later, on 22 January 1963, on the other side of the Iron Curtain dividing Germany after the war, Johannes Nohl died in Jena. Between 1911 and the mid-1920s, he had written and published on literary subjects, as well as on contemporary modern art, whilst practising as a psychoanalyst. Today, almost completely unknown, if he is mentioned at all, it is in a negative way: 'Nohl did not have a training in any of the schools of psychoanalysis. He is an eclectic with an unusual method: therapeutic conversations take place alongside private visits that include the families on both sides' (Cremerius, 1995: 96–7). Before the Great War, no analyst had a training in the way it exists today. 'Private visits that included the families on both sides' were no different from the way Freud, Jung and most other established analysts we know of conducted their analyses. However, in contrast to many of these, Nohl *did* have a training analysis – with Gross.

Nohl's most famous patient was Hermann Hesse (1877–1962). Apart from his long semi-analytical relationship with the physician and sometime Jungian analyst Josef Bernhard Lang (1881–1945), Hesse's analysis with Nohl in the spring and summer of 1918 was the longest he ever had. Apparently, Nohl worked with both Hesse as well as with his wife, Maria Bernoulli (1868–1963), trying to save their marriage. When Bernoulli left Hesse in 1918, she initially found refuge with Nohl (Müller, 2015). During his analysis with Nohl, echoing Mühsam's enthusiastic letter to Freud a decade earlier (see Chapter 3), Hesse published an article, 'Artists and psychoanalysis' (1918). In his text, he responds to the question whether the creativity of the artist could benefit from Freud's new insights and whether these could thus further the artist:

> First: psychoanalysis confirmed the poet in his relationship to himself because it recognized the importance of fantasy for human life. [. . .]
>
> Second: For the artist there remained a lasting gain from psychoanalysis in the form of an 'intimate' relationship with his own unconscious. [. . .]
>
> Third: It demands a truthfulness vis-à-vis oneself that we are not used to. [. . .] Demands on the artist: neither a repression of what flows from the unconscious nor a constant surrendering to what emerges from it in its infinite formlessness, but a loving listening to the hidden sources, and only then criticism and choice should be allowed in. If there is any technique to fulfil these demands, then it is psychoanalysis. (In Cremerius, 1999: 2–3)

Freud reacted to this text with a letter to Hesse, 'One of your readers [. . .] would like to shake your hand in gratitude for your paper' (in ibid.). Hesse replied:

> Dear *Herr* Professor!
>
> Your word of thanks shames me because on the contrary it is me who owes you the deepest gratitude. I am delighted to be able to express it today for the first time. The poets have always been your allies. [. . .]
>
> In cordial reverence, your [. . .]. (Hesse, 1973: 378)

Although Cremerius critically claims that Hesse broke off his analysis with Nohl, Hesse appreciated its lasting effects in his diary two years later: 'For me psychoanalysis became the path towards healing and evolution' (Hesse, 1986: 31). In 1918 he wrote to a friend about Nohl, 'a very profound and precious man and intellect, [. . .] dear to me' (Hesse, 2015: 155).

For his friend Szittya, Nohl was 'a serious researcher (1923: 149) and 'the most important psychoanalyst', someone who might be able 'to deal with the diabolical in the Russian Revolution' (ibid.: 233). As mentioned, what may well be Nohl's most important – albeit completely unacknowledged – contribution is his linking of psychoanalysis with spirituality, following his and Mühsam's encounter with Gross. Having been introduced to psychoanalysis, and analysed by Gross, for the trained theologian Nohl, this may well have been a logical step. In 1911, he proposed in the article which so enraged Landauer:

> inner hardenings and wrongnesses can only be deleted by the dissolving, regenerating and corrective power of prayer in complete openness towards God and through that towards human beings. Even psychoanalysis, which is capable of raising repressed positive insights and needs back into consciousness, has to end in prayer, i.e. in the passionate imagining and transforming oneself into that which has been recognized as positive. (1911: 83–4)

Later, Nohl deepened his thoughts on this subject in four important papers published in 1916 and 1918 respectively: 'The fruitfulness of psychoanalysis for ethics and religion' (1916a), 'Psychoanalysis and the art of poetry' (1916b), 'Psychoanalysis

and education' (1916c), and 'The significance of psycho-analysis' (1918). In the final of these he argued:

> Just as the Encyclopaedists [of the French Enlightenment] before, today the psychoanalysts are being accused of destroying morals and to undermine public decency, society and religion. But no less than those stormy minds, the psychoanalysts of today only believe that they are fighting against an immoral morality, a morality that allowed all creative powers to rot and which deformed the truth of human nature into a lie. The psychology of consciousness of the Enlightenment has only been able to demolish the outer fortifications of irrationality and superstition, now, the psychology of the unconscious processes promises to storm the bulwarks of delusion, to dethrone all illegitimate authorities and to reinstate the creative life in its royal rights. (Ibid.: 3)

Nohl's words echo thoughts Gross had formulated earlier, particularly in 'On overcoming the cultural crisis' (1913d). Both in his retrospective glance to earlier revolutionary achievements as well as in his concern for a psychoanalysis closely associated with morality and ethics, Gross's influence is noticeable.

With ease, in his 1918 paper Nohl linked the concepts of the early Freud in *The Interpretation of Dreams* with those of C.G. Jung in the first 1911/12 version of what was later to become *Symbols of Transformation* (1952) – and with Gross: Nohl observed how 'the Zurich School, particularly Jung and Pfister, had developed Freud's thought further and had shown as well how religion can be estimated in its biological value as a bridge to the highest achievements of humanity' (Nohl, 1918: 5). Nohl linked this with 'the great and also social perspectives which have made psychoanalysis into one of the most progressive movements of the present time' (ibid.: 10) He critiques that, right from the start

> its adherents have been divided into two camps: that of the physicians who generally just want to free their patients from the worst acute inhibitions and who see the goal of analysis as a compromise between the demands of the individual and those of the ruling class of society, and that camp of the conscious experimenters and pioneers of the future, whose most prominent exponent is Otto Gross. (Ibid.)

For Nohl, the true power of psychoanalysis lies in

> the flaring up of unlimited possibilities [. . .]. Unlike any other intellectual movement before, it awakens the primal joy of creating and transforming of life's realities. It replaces all miserable systems of accusing the world and of basic corruptness with the belief in the power of the human being to create happiness [. . .]. Analysis will lead not to a liberation from religion, but most certainly to a liberation within religion. (Ibid.: 3–4)

In almost one hundred years, these thoughts have not lost anything of their topicality; what they outline remain possibilities yet to be realized in many respects: our tasks in the present in caring for our future.

In his 1924 paper, 'The criminalistic importance of psychoanalysis', Nohl argued for a 'platonic understanding of crime as an illness of the psyche' (ibid.: 1). He continued with what can almost be called a posthumous re-unification of Otto Gross with his father – at least in terms of their theories:

> The psychical facts and links which psychoanalysis uncovers [. . .] lead to new insights. One example for this is the famous Graz criminologist Hans Gross, who conceded an organic compulsion from the unconscious life of the mind [. . .] for a whole range of crimes and who introduced the term reflective action into criminal psychology. His son Otto Gross, a direct pupil of Freud, penetrated even deeper into the psychology of the criminal, proving in his book *Psychopathic Inferiorities* that by necessity such actions which are dictated by the unconscious are misunderstood and get equipped with a 'secondary motivation' (Freud). This is how [Gross] describes the genesis of kleptomania. (Ibid.: 2)

Thematically, Nohl refers to the first important paper by Gross, 'On the question of mental representations of social inhibition' (1901a), where he questioned the moral justification of society to punish those it declares criminals. Nohl went on to suggest analytic work in prisons and in schools in a way that, again, feels as valid today as a hundred years ago.

Uncertainty remains as to how Nohl managed to survive the Nazi regime. He himself wrote that he worked in the steel industry and as a teacher, then was imprisoned for homosexuality (Nohl, n.d.: 6). During the war, Allied bombing raids destroyed his home and he lost his library and numerous manuscripts (Nohl, 1946: 4). After the Second World War, he lived in the German Democratic Republic, married, and worked as an editor for a publishing house.

5

PHILOSOPHICAL ORIGINS

Revolutionary politics, psychology and the sacred

> Everything begins in mysticism and ends in politics.
>
> *Charles Péguy, 1909 (in Anon., 2015a)*

'By reaching for the moon, it is said, we learn to reach. Utopianism, or "social dreaming" is the education of desire for a better world, and therefore a necessary part of any movement for social change' (Greenway, 2003:1): in this chapter, I trace some of the core themes that have impacted on Gross's key concepts through the history of philosophical and political thought. My focus is on his understanding of self and other in a dialectical exchange based on equality. Certainly, such retrospection over an ideological evolution cannot possibly proceed along a straight line. Rather, it is a thread, frequently broken and interrupted, which weaves its way through history, an underground tradition of countercultural dissent.

As mentioned, the psychiatrists assessing Gross in 1913, saw his 'radicalism' as a major aspect of the severe psychopathology they diagnosed: an expression of a general bias, surviving to this day, which conceives of revolutionary politics as an obviously irrational doctrine of mad fanatics and bomb-throwing terrorists.

In 1905, Kropotkin defined Anarchism, meaning 'against rule/authority', for the *Encylopaedia Britannica*:

> Harmony in [. . .] society being obtained [. . .] by free agreements concluded between the various groups, [. . .] as also for the satisfaction of the infinite variety of needs and aspirations of a civilized being. [. . .] [M]an would [. . .] be guided in his actions by his own understanding [. . .] of a free action and reaction between his own self and the ethical conceptions of his surroundings. Man would thus be enabled to obtain the full development of all his faculties, intellectual, artistic and moral [. . .]. He would thus be able to reach full *individualization*, which is not possible [. . .] under the present system of *individualism*. (1970: 284–5)

Noam Chomsky commented:

> many commentators dismiss anarchism as utopian, formless, primitive, or otherwise incompatible with the realities of a complex society. One might, however, argue rather differently: that at every stage of history our concern must be to dismantle those forms of authority and oppression that survive from an era when they might have been justified in terms of the need for security or survival or economic development, but that now contribute to – rather than alleviate – material and cultural deficit. (Chomsky, 1970: 1)

Kropotkin traced the origins of anarchism to the beginnings of western philosophy: Zeno (342–267/270 BCE), from Crete, founder of Stoic philosophy, proposed a concept of a free community without government. In the Middle Ages, Geoffrey Chaucer (1340?–1400) already considered power and love as being mutually exclusive: 'Love will not be constrained by mastery; when mastery comes, the god of love soon beats his wings, and, farewell, he is gone!' (2007). Kropotkin continues his historical survey with several medieval alternative Christian movements, among them the Cathars, the Anababtists of Münster, who established an egalitarian community, and the Adamites – whom Gross supposedly wrote about (Werfel, 1990: 349). During the German Peasants' War of 1524–26, a revolutionary slogan asked, 'When Adam dug and Eve span – who was *then* the nobleman?!' For all these radical groups, millennial hopes of creating paradise on earth inspired revolutionary political aims: a sacralization of politics – or a politicization of the sacral. Some gathered together under a white banner decorated with the colours of the rainbow. Most prominent among those – many from the laity – who preached for equality in an immediately-to-be-realized 'true kingdom of love' (Bloch, 1973: 58) was Thomas Müntzer (1489?–1525), the 'theologian of the revolution' (Bloch, 1963). Philosopher Ernst Bloch (1885–1977) called one of Müntzer's addresses to those with him 'the most sorrowful and raging revolutionary manifesto of all times' (ibid.: 76). 'Müntzer especially is history *per se* in a fruitful sense; he and his cause and all of the past worth recording, exists to commit and enthuse us to ever stronger support the continuing cause' (Bloch, in Wehr, 1972: 146). Called 'the charismatic sword' (Riedl, 2013), Müntzer took part in the decisive battle of Frankenhausen in May 1525, which ended with a defeat for the insurgents. He was captured and executed after torture.

For these free spirit and egalitarian millennial movements,

> the gnosis at which they arrived was a quasi mystical anarchism – an affirmation of freedom so reckless and unqualified it amounted to a total denial of every kind of restraint and limitation. These people could be regarded as precursors of [. . .] that bohemian intelligentsia which during the last half of the [nineteenth] century has been living from ideas once expressed by Bakunin and Nietzsche in their wilder moments. (Cohn, 1970:148–9)

Corresponding political ideas were practised by secular rebellious groups such as the pirates in the North and Baltic seas who fought the Hanseatic League in the fourteenth century and called themselves *Likedeeler*, dealing out like, that is, equal shares to their members. This tradition may have culminated late in the seventeenth century in the founding of a libertarian, communalist pirate colony, Libertatia, on the island of Madagascar:

> The pirate utopia's motto was 'for God and liberty', and its flag was white [. . .]. They were anarchists, waging war against states and lawmakers, attacking their ships, sparing prisoners, and freeing slaves. They called themselves *Liberi*, and lived under a communal city rule, a sort of worker owned corporation of piracy. They [. . .] used elected systems of re-callable delegates. (Anon, 2011a)

Due to his inquiry of consciousness in search for what is hidden within, the Renaissance philosopher Giordano Bruno (1548–1600) was accused of heresy. Refusing to compromise, he challenged the Catholic judges sentencing him to death with 'Your fear in pronouncing this sentence over me is probably greater than mine who is receiving it' (in Schoppe, 1600: 468). Expert in *damnatio memoriae*, the Vatican had Bruno burnt at the stake. Petitions for a pardon on the four hundredth anniversary of his murder were met with fierce resistance from the Catholic Church (Gaglioti, 2000). Reich referred to the Church's relentlessly persecutory attitude towards Bruno, as well as the Stalinist purges of his own lifetime, in writing about the murderous rage of those emotionally deadened against the emotionally alive in *The Murder of Christ* (1972a). Having been called 'a philosopher of psychoanalysis' (Samsonow, 1995: 36):

> Bruno put his emphasis on attraction between persons as a fundamental fact of nature. Where Freud would write about oceanic feelings, [. . .] [and Gross about the will to relating], Bruno described [. . .] the cosmic longing for connectedness to oneself, to others, to the universe. [. . .] [F]or Bruno there was continuous interaction, exchange forces, mutual fertilisation. (Boadella, 1999: 121–2)

During the English Civil Wars of the seventeenth century, their opponents called the radical Levellers 'Switzerizing anarchists'. In his 1649 pamphlet *Truth Lifting Up Its Head Above Scandals*, Gerrard Winstanley (1609–76), a dissenting Christian, laid down what later became the basic principles among anarchists: that power corrupts, that property is incompatible with freedom, and that authority and property are between them the begetters of crime.

Predominantly remembered as a materialist, the French physician and philosopher Julien Offray de La Mettrie (1709–51) has only recently been considered an important pioneer of psychology. His first books, among them *Voluptuousness/Lust*, were burnt publicly due to their 'heretical' content. Because of his 'immorality' (Laska, 1998: 1),

the Enlightenment's philosophers formed a united front against La Mettrie. Forced into exile, initially to liberal Holland, he was then invited by the Prussian emperor Frederick the Great to become his physician. Although assured that he was free to write as he wished, he was judged to be taking too many liberties. Censored and declared insane, La Mettrie died under dubious circumstances (ibid.: 5) The above-mentioned title, and others like *The Art of Enjoying Lust/To Orgasm*, *Discourse on Happiness or The Highest Good* (1985a), give a flavour of what his contemporaries deemed so offensive. Diderot called him a 'defender of vice and a slanderer of virtue' (in Laska, 1998: 7), while others were infuriated by La Mettrie's 'refusal to believe in a "God" who forces his creatures into self-humiliation and submissiveness, who keeps them under constant surveillance and punishes them at random' (ibid.: 6). La Mettrie's main focus can be understood as having been directed against that inner authority later called Super-Ego (ibid.: 7; Laska, 1999). La Mettrie explained:

> If I tirelessly speak again and again about education, it is because only education can convey feelings to us, which are contrary to those that we would have without it. Such feelings are the consequence of changes which education engenders in our drives or rather in our way to experience, to feel. (1985: 70)

For La Mettrie, such education 'starts in early childhood; it is a process that "bends our soul and changes our organism" [ibid.: 21]' (Laska 1999: 7). Later, these superimposed principles are experienced as primary, inherent aspects of human nature. Hardly anyone manages to free themselves from these 'prejudices of childhood and to cleanse the soul with the torch of reason' (La Mettrie, 1985a: 21–2). La Mettrie formulated a theory of the origins of guilt feelings which – particularly in the realm of sexuality – led people to assume that it was a 'disgrace to experience pleasure and to have been created in order to feel happy' (La Mettrie, 1985: 50 – 1): This 'cruel poison' becomes 'the worst of their enemies humans carry inside themselves' (ibid.: 53). Like Gross later, La Mettrie clearly understood this as both an individual and collective problem:

> 'Sensitivity for pleasure' has a central place in [his] philosophy, for him it complements the freedom from guilt feelings. And in contrast to the misunderstandings of his enraged contemporaries, who called him debauched and perverted, he makes a fundamental qualitative and not a gradual difference between pleasure and debauchery: [. . .] If the *débauché* is addicted to an insatiable lust, the *voluptueux*, the person with a true sensitivity for pleasure, is whole in their soul and thus satisfiable. (Laska, 1999: 9–11)

This corresponds to the differentiation Wilhelm Reich, who mentioned La Mettrie approvingly (1973: 526), was to make almost two hundred years later between what he called the *neurotic character* and the *genital character*. Reich saw only the latter as capable of *orgastic potency*:

> The *voluptueux* is one whose soul has not been 'bent' as a child, who has not been subjected to that enculturing socializing process. Since in La Mettrie's view the complex of damaging guilt feelings was not a biological given, but the result of education, he saw it as principally possible to eliminate it. [. . .] The path towards [. . .] a society of 'happy' individuals lay for [him] in the prevention of the disposition to unhappiness in the newly-born. (Laska, 1999: 11)

Again, these concerns anticipate Reich's: one of his final books was *Children of the Future: On the Prevention of Sexual Pathology* (1983).

Kropotkin continued his 'Historical Development of Anarchism' with the French Encyclopaedists, mentioning Denis Diderot's (1713–84) Preface to the *Voyage* of Bougainville to the South Seas. Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712–78) suggested the ideal of the 'noble savage', a move back to nature. At the same time Adam Smith (1723–98) emphasized the importance of 'sympathy' for a satisfactory relationship, not only in economic terms but also for society as a whole.

Such considerations included confrontation with the traditional perspective on woman, followed by the disquieting realization of the feminine component of the male and the bisexual basis of all human beings. Emancipation became linked to the liberation of woman – internally as well as externally.

During the French Revolution, the Girondin Jacques Brissot (1754–93) accused his extreme rivals, the *enragés*, of being 'advocates of anarchy'. After the defeat of the Jacobins, François Gracchus Babeuf (1760–97) continued with his 'Conspiracy of Equals' to realize a virtuous republic. Unable to find enough followers, he died under the guillotine.

Only now is Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832) in the process of being discovered as an important philosopher, belonging into the present genealogy as 'the first major English philosopher of sexual liberty' (Dabhoiwala, 2014). Also called 'the father of feminism' (Campos Boralevi, 1980):

> [Bentham] tried to strip away all the irrational and religious prohibitions that surrounded sexual activity.
>
> Of all enjoyments, Bentham reasoned, sex was the most universal, the most easily accessible, the most intense, and the most copious – nothing was more conducive to happiness. An 'all-comprehensive liberty for all modes of sexual gratification' would therefore be a huge, permanent benefit to humankind: if consenting adults were freed to do whatever they liked with their own bodies, 'what calculation shall compute the aggregate mass of pleasure that may be brought into existence?'
>
> The main impetus for Bentham's obsession with sexual freedom was his society's harsh persecution of homosexual men. [. . .] Throughout Bentham's lifetime, homosexuals were regularly executed in England, or had their lives ruined by pillary, exile, or public disgrace. He was appalled at this horrible prejudice. Sodomy, he argued, was not just harmless, but evidently pleasurable to its participants. The mere fact that the custom was

> abhorrent to the majority of the community no more justified the persecution of sodomites than it did the killing of Jews, heretics, smokers or people who ate oysters [. . .]. (Ibid.)

Among those with whom Bentham discussed his arguments was William Godwin (1756–1836), who presented with his *Enquiry concerning Political Justice* (1793), 'the sum and substance of anarchism, and thus embodies a whole tradition' (Gray, 1946: 134): 'Laws, he wrote, are not a product of the wisdom of our ancestors: they are the products of their passions, their timidity, their jealousies, their ambition. The remedy they offer is worse than the evils they pretend to cure' (Kropotkin, 1970: 289). Godwin influenced Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792–1822), whose '*Red Mask of Anarchy* [. . .] and *Prometheus Unbound* are virtually anarchist poems' (ibid.). Green drew close parallels between Shelley and Gross (1992: 180–90; 1999: 309–19).

William Blake (1757–1827), also belongs into this tradition: visionary and mystic, he created a unique blend of spiritual and revolutionary thought. Sacralized politics for Blake were inseparable from individual liberation. Like La Mettrie, Blake was well aware of the destructive effects of an oppressive education: 'As the caterpillar chooses the fairest leaves to lay her eggs on, so the priest lays his curse on the fairest joys' (Blake, 1979: 254). 'No poet has written more passionately against authoritarianism' (Morrison, 2000: 24):

> In every cry of every man,
> In every Infant's cry of fear,
> In every voice, in every ban,
> The mind-forg'd manacles I hear. (Blake, 1979: 112)

Fighting such damaging influences, he suggested to 'Sooner murder an infant in its cradle than nurse unacted desires' (ibid.: 255). *The Daughters of Albion* in Blake's prophetic book are seen as the women of England, yearning for their liberation:

> [In] his later epic poems and songs, [. . .] [Blake] weaves anti-authoritarian ideals into his own inner vision of a new creation myth. These works touch on [. . .] the battle of the sexes, psychological and political conflict, the liberty of the individual and the creative potential of disobedience. (Greenberg, ed., 2000: 11)

Philosopher and mystic Franz Xaver von Baader (1765–1841), a contemporary of Blake's, was for Gross's friend Nohl 'the greatest eroticist among the German philosophers' (1916: 1). Via Nohl, his ideas impacted on Gross: 'It must have seemed absurd, as [von Baader] wrote, "to try and solve the problem of bourgeois society, i.e. the free association of people, without the spirit of religion"' (Nohl, 1911a: 167). 'Only later, with Nietzsche, do we find a comparable intensity in the experience of social issues. The main theses of his social philosophy are: we can only be free by liberating [others]' (ibid.: 162). Nohl's emphasis on

the concept of mutuality in von Baader's philosophy links it with Kropotkin's later thoughts which had such an importance for Gross's psycho-political theory. Von Baader was aware of Godwin's works as well as Mary Wollstonecraft's (1759–97) *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792). Novalis (1772–1801) called von Baader 'a real psychologist who spoke the true psychological language' (in Nohl, 1912: 613). Nohl praised von Baader's *On Ecstasy* and *40 Theses on Religious Erotics*. In opposition to Descartes and a science free from affects, von Baader argued for a 'religious science' (ibid.: 632) – as Benjamin, who knew of von Baader, would some 150 years later. Instead, von Baader recognized enthusiasm as a source of cognition: 'There is no affectless knowing' (in ibid.: 625). Nohl also cites von Baader's trust in 'the magic efficacy of prayer' and his 'concept of the priesthood of everyone', his early psychosomatic understanding – 'all illnesses are illnesses of the soul' (in ibid.) – as well as ideas anticipating the concept of a primary bisexuality, pointing towards the theory of anima and animus, later implicit in some of Gross's writings and explicit in Jung's analytical psychology. Von Baader suggested:

> Love is divine in all its forms, be it sexual, parental, as well as children's love [. . .]. All that is embodied and alive is generated by androgynous lust: [. . .] In sexual love the two lovers should help each other towards complementing themselves respectively from the same higher androgyne. [. . .] The human being per se in his/her true virtuality only blossoms forth [. . .] as united masculinity and femininity, which is what all religion, all wisdom, and all art are striving for. [. . .] Reintegration and holiness of the human being is not only a precondition of the well-being but the creaturely life of the divine being. (In ibid.: 627)

Nohl adds, 'For [von Baader], the two life-creating forces which always co-exist are the will to mirror and be mirrored, to know and to be known, to love and to be loved' (ibid.: 628). 'Uniting full of pleasure, they differentiate one from the other, and in differentiating, they unite' (Nohl, 1916a: 1). Here, again, is not only the concept of mutuality in equality, but also a formulation of what Gross later defined as 'the will per se to free relating' (2005a: 240).

In the process of discovering the socio-ethical principle of turning to and being concerned with the 'other' as constituting society, Auguste Comte (1798–1857) coined the neologism 'altruism':

> Inspired in part by the accounts of Cook and Bougainville of their voyages to Tahiti, [. . .] depicting new and exotic sexual mores, [. . .] [the so-called 'Utopian Socialists'] began to define happiness in more explicitly sensual terms and envisage erotic gratification as the central purpose of the ideal society. (Beecher, 2000: 10)

and

> The idea that Tahiti represented humanity's 'natural state' had notable implications. [. . . T]he Enlightenment exploration of nature – through science, geography and history – helped create visions of marriage and monogamy as conventional at best, at worst arbitrarily serving false ends (e.g. property transfer) rather than human joy. (Porter, 1990: 9)

These considerations lasted into the twentieth century, with Reich's fascination with the ethnographer Bronisław Malinowski's (1884–1942) studies of life in the South Seas, continued later by Margaret Mead (1901–78).

Most important among 'Utopian Socialists' for the present study was Charles Fourier (1772–1837). He advocated a reconstruction of society based on communal associations of producers, known as Fourierism. Disagreeing with the French Revolution's concept of all human beings being basically similar in nature, Fourier emphasized uniqueness and diversity:

> The main task that Fourier set himself was to define the contours of an ideal community consistent with God's plan – a community in which the full and free expression of the passions would promote concord and social unity. [. . .] In the 'new amorous world', wrote Fourier, 'no one capable of love' would ever 'be frustrated in his or her desire', and the guarantee of amorous gratification would serve as the basis for the development of a world of subtle and complex human relationships. [. . .]
>
> Among the institutions proposed by Fourier was the establishment within every community of a Court of Love, which [. . .] was to be ruled by a female pontiff with the help of a large staff of priests and confessors [. . .], clearly a parody of the Catholic religious hierarchy. These officials would have the power to issue 'indulgences', to impose 'penances', and to exact 'amorous tithes' [. . .]. But sin would be infrequent [. . .]; generally it would amount to little more than the impolite rejection of sexual advances. And it would always be possible for a sinner to win an indulgence by providing sexual gratification to the needy. Just like the Catholic Church, Fourier's utopia would also have its saints and angels and crusades. But the saints would acquire holiness through amorous and gastronomic prowess, and the angels would minister to the sexual needs of the poor, the elderly, and the unattractive [. . .].
>
> Fourier was incorporating within his utopia a parody of Catholic religious practice [. . .] to dramatize the implications of an ethic which attached absolutely no virtue to self-denial and isolation. (Beecher, 2000: 10 – 11)
>
> It is tempting to view Fourier as a precursor to Freud. [. . .] Fourier was obviously concerned with origins of neurosis and other more serious forms of mental disease [. . .]. [He] did [. . .] formulate a pioneering theory of the dynamics of repression, and he discussed amorous manias in terms which bear some resemblance to the psychoanalytical explanation of neurotic symptom formation. (Beecher and Bienvenu, 1983: 329–30)

At the same time, Fourier's argument shows a tendency towards mechanization, regulation and, ultimately, control. We find echoes of this in the way Gross – who was aware of Fourier (Gross 2006: 110), and who has been called a 'utopian socialist' himself (Springer, 1987) – tried to direct the sexual relationships of those around him.

The first man to willingly call himself an anarchist – therefore called the 'Father of Anarchism' – was the French libertarian socialist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809–65). Influenced by Fourier, he 'advocated a society without government, and used the word anarchy to describe it' (Kropotkin, 1970: 290):

> Since the two principles, Authority and Liberty, which underlie all forms of organized society, are on the one hand contrary to each other, in a perpetual state of conflict, and on the other can neither eliminate each other nor be resolved, some kind of compromise between the two is necessary. (Proudhon, 1969: 103)

This anticipates two of the core issues of Gross's thought: the conflict between self and other, and the need for replacing the will to power with the will to relating. Proudhon also conceived of mutual relating in equality: from a secret weavers' society in Lyon who called themselves 'Mutualists' in 1843, Proudhon took the term 'Mutualism' for his own form of anarchism, the organization of society on an egalitarian basis.

Proudhon's contemporary, Max Stirner (pseudonym for Johann Kaspar Schmidt, 1806–56) was the most important of the 'Left' Hegelians, a group of philosophers advocating a 'philosophy of action/deed'. In 1844, Stirner published *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum* (1972), translated as *The Ego and His Own* (1910). Misunderstood as *The Nihilistic Egoist* (Paterson, 1971), Stirner continues to be reviled and ridiculed to this day. Only recently has this simplistic perspective been questioned: what was it that so deeply upset Marx that he wrote such an enraged refutation of *Der Einzige . . .* — in volume considerably larger than Stirner's work—and then decided not to publish it after all? Marx's critique forms the bulk of his *Critique of the German Ideology* (Marx and Engels, 1971), published posthumously. He called Stirner 'the most hollow and poorest mind among philosophers' (ibid.: 474); 'It has been said that Stirner is not a fit subject for respectable philosophers; if they touch Stirner's words, they'd better wash their hands' (Calasso, 1995: 259):

> [Stirner] is the barbarian who comes from one of Germany's provincial little states and bursts into the centre of the metaphysical Empire [. . .] The true 'philosophy of the hammer', which Nietzsche would never succeed in practising because he was too unalterably polite, is achieved in the brief, punchy sentences that make up *Der Einzige*. (ibid.: 265)

Already in 1891, philosopher Eduard von Hartmann claimed that Nietzsche was the plagiarist of Stirner (Laska, 1991: 2). Even the anarchists, as whose ancestor Stirner is often seen, kept mostly silent about him, as did Proudhon and Bakunin,

or remained ambivalent, as Landauer, although Kropotkin mentions Stirner's 'remarkable works' (1970: 292). Rudolf Rocker (1873–1958) conceded that 'Anarchism found a unique expression in Max Stirner's [. . .] book'—continuing, however, with, 'which [. . .] quickly passed into oblivion and had no influence at all on the Anarchist movement' (Rocker, 1938).

This attitude remains largely unchanged: critics have worried that the destruction of alienation Stirner was striving for – actually, the return to authenticity – would result in nothing less than the destruction of culture, that Stirner's 'egotism' might even lead to a 'self-annihilation of the human race' (in Laska, 2000). Habermas condemned Stirner as 'mediocrity, driven from poverty and narrowness [. . .], a rigorous monomaniac' (in ibid.).

In the thinking of the radical philosophers of his time, Stirner criticized that they had only 'killed God' and abolished the 'beyond outside of ourselves'; but that [. . .] the 'pious atheists' had basically preserved the 'beyond within ourselves' and had only cast the latter into a new form (ibid.).

The 'beyond outside of ourselves' can be understood as the external order, the 'beyond within ourselves' as its internalization. Laska understands this as closely resembling what Freud later called the super-ego, the value-system implanted very early in life. In this, Stirner is refuting Hegel's 1820 claim that 'A main factor of education is discipline which aims at breaking the individual will of the child [. . .]. That which is rational should appear to him as his very own subjectivity [. . .]. Decency has to be implanted into the child' (*Philosophy of Right*, §§ 174–5; in ibid.).

By contrast, Stirner advocated a fierce autonomy and an uncompromising authenticity in relation to one's own self: 'My concern is neither the divine nor the human, not the true, good, just, free, etc., but solely what is *mine*, and it is not a general one, but is – unique, as I am unique. Nothing is more to me than myself! (1910: 5).

There is an obvious link from Stirner's 'concern' with *Eigentum* – that which is uniquely one's own – and Gross's emphasis on it in his psychology. He mentioned Stirner during his psychiatric assessment (in Berze and Stelzer, 1913: 24), as well as in print (Gross 1914: 269). Stirner's 'concern' certainly also has much in common with C.G. Jung's striving towards 'individuation', as well as Winnicott's concept of the 'true self'– both the very opposite of nihilism. In view of Nietzsche's influence on Freud, Gross and Jung, and, in turn, Stirner's indisputable impact on Nietzsche, we may thus speak of a Stirnerian influence that continues, unacknowledged, into contemporary psychoanalytic thought.

Proudhon rejected Communism, favouring instead the relative autonomy of local communities. In the 1870s, the Russian anarchist Mikhail Aleksandrovich Bakunin (1814–76), accused Marx of German authoritarianism. Their different approaches to the question of revolutionary change split the International in 1872, and a year later the Bakuninists set up their own International.

Like Marx, Bakunin was initially influenced by the Young Hegelians. In 1842, he concluded his revolutionary credo with 'The passion for destruction is also a creative passion.' However

> even Bakunin, though [. . .] a passionate anti-authoritarian, demanded that 'children, until they reach legal age [. . .] should be under the regime of authority' which should gradually become milder as they grow up, but only so 'that the youngsters, once they have reached legal age, might have forgotten how once in their childhood they have been guided by something other than freedom. (Bakunin, 1924: 25, in Laska, 1991)

Likewise influenced by Proudhon, Leo Tolstoy (1828–1910) linked anarchist thought with Christian ethics, and envisioned a society without rulership. In 1893, he published *'The Kingdom of God is Within You'. Christianity Not as a Mystic Religion but as a New Theory of Life* (2014). He criticized Bakunin's destructionism, but admired Kropotkin, with whom he corresponded. Landauer felt close to Tolstoy's linking of politics and religion, and Nohl's very first publications – in Landauer's journal – focused on Tolstoy (1910; ed., 1911).

'At the [previous] turn of the century, Tolstoy became the most important inspiration for anarcho-pacifist and Christian-anarchist communities' (Linse, in Müller, 1999: 5). The Monte Verità scholar Hermann Müller rediscovered the philosophers who not only brought Tolstoy's ideas to Ascona, but from whose own publications Gross may well have directly borrowed the vocabulary for some of his core concepts: the group who founded the alternative community in 1900 was influenced by Albert Škarvan (1869–1926). Slovakian by birth, Škarvan had been a physician in the Austro-Hungarian Army: influenced by Tolstoy's writings, he had refused military service, was imprisoned, and stripped of both his commission and his medical licence. Tolstoy introduced Škarvan to the writings of the Ukrainian philosopher of religion Afrikan Spir (1837–90) and the German-Hungarian Christian-anarchist Eugen Heinrich Schmitt (1851–1916).

After Spir's death, Tolstoy had discovered his most important book, *Thinking and Reality* (1873), and enthusiastically wrote to Škarvan, 'one of the best philosophical books that I know [. . .], Spir offers a modern gnosis [. . .]. [This] does not lead him towards escaping from the world but rather constitutes an incentive to change it' (in Müller, 1999: 17–18). What makes Spir's work particularly important in the present context, is an earlier text of his, *Proposal for Friends of a Sensible Conduct of Living* (1869), where he had presented 'an early and basic definition of identity, identity in a psychological as well as an ethical sense, of self-determination and self-discovery' (ibid.: 40). Spir wrote:

> If [man] lives according to his true nature, he is free, in accordance with himself. (1869: 40)
>
> Freedom itself does not mean anything other than striving and acting in accordance with oneself, striving and acting in accordance with one's own character. To freely determine oneself means: Not to allow other factors to determine oneself, but to determine oneself from the basis of one's own character (*dem eigenen Wesen*). (Ibid.: 3)

> The question here is [. . .]: whether of one's own or of the other (*eigen oder fremd*)? (Ibid.: 49)
>
> Freedom consists in fighting against all that is of *the other* in ourselves (*alles Fremde)*. (Ibid.: 41)

Thus, in 1869, Spir used the very same terms to define identity that Gross started to use for the same purpose some forty years later for one of the central concerns of his work: *der Gegensatz zwischen dem Eigenen und dem Fremden* – the contrast between self and other. Spir even pre-formulated the Grossian goal of a harmony between the two strivings for freedom and for relationship:

> We are able to rise above all particularities of our [. . .] given nature towards a pure collectivity,—and then we will no longer find anything other *(Fremdes*) and dark in each other, but everyone is a mirror in which the others find their own (*eigenes*) mirror image. (Ibid.: 23)

The same text also contains early traces of Gross's concept of an inborn morality, and an inclination towards *Mutual Aid* (Kropotkin, 1902), which was such a decisive influence for Gross:

> The given, sensuous nature of man sometimes contains traits and develops strivings that in no way contradict his true character, but are actually in total accordance with it. As such, often pity, generosity, the capacity to sacrifice, and a noble enthusiasm can be encountered in the sensuous [. . .] nature of man. (Ibid.: 50)
>
> The moral law [. . .] is a law of the true (i.e. the truly own [*eignen*]) nature of man. (Ibid.: 6; all Spir quotes in Müller, 1999: 39, 42–3)

Eugen Heinrich Schmitt was the other philosopher important for this genealogy of Gross's thought. Škarvan brought the philosophical concepts of his friend to Ascona. Müller calls Schmitt 'the "official" philosopher of the Ascona anarchists' (ibid: 27). Having published several of Škarvan's translations of Tolstoy, with his concepts of an anti-authoritarian spiritual anarchism, Schmitt 'stands for a gnostic anarchism or an anarchist gnosis, that must have been highly welcomed by people like Gross, Mühsam and Nohl' (ibid.: 25). Schmitt himself called his philosophy a 'religion of the mind' which he wanted to establish as a 'religion of the future'. In his 1904 book *The Ideal State*, a history of all utopian projects from the beginning of history, Schmitt presented the counterculture community of Ascona with a unified philosophical theory. However, he did believe that 'free love' was destructive to any community.

As mentioned, Tolstoy was also in contact with Prince Peter Aleksejevich Kropotkin (1842–1921), the leading theorist of anarchism after Bakunin's death, who 'set himself the task of making achievements of modern natural science available for the sociological concept of anarchism' (Rocker, 1948: 4). In *Mutual Aid*

(1902), Kropotkin argued against Darwin's concept of the survival of the fittest. Instead, he considered co-operation rather than conflict as the decisive factor in evolution. What he and others had observed in this respect in the animal kingdom, he applied to human beings, and, collectively, to society in its historical development from early tribal communities to the modern era. Thus Kropotkin envisioned a communal society of co-operative communities of shared labour, where the principle of different wages would be replaced by a distribution of goods and services according to different needs. Disappointed by the Bolshevik seizure of power in 1917, he remarked, 'This buries the revolution.' His funeral in 1921, attended by large crowds, was the last occasion that the black flag of anarchism was carried through the streets of Moscow (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1999–2000b).

In July 2015, the London *Guardian* published an article on 'Anarchism might just help to save the world', subtitled, 'We need to rediscover Peter Kropotkin': 'Kropotkin's writings completed the theoretical vision of the anarchist future, and little new has been added since his time' (Priestland, 2015). One aspect that certainly has been newly added to the anarchist vision is Gross's psychoanalytic dimension, thus linking psychoanalysis with revolutionary politics. His emphasis on replacing the will to power with the will to relating can be used as a practical tool for creating a liveable future:

> The anarchists [. . .] are the only opposition left to the current money-power Elite [. . .]: either the[ir] techniques of control will be perfected to the level where dissent can be abolished, or heretics will mutate to a level of consciousness where they can do holy and miraculous works to resurrect the dream of freedom for all. (Wilson, 1999: 75)

6

OTTO GROSS

A brief life

> Life can only be understood backwards, but it must be lived forwards.
>
> *Søren Kierkegaard, n.d.*

It has been suggested to print the legend, when the legend becomes fact (Bellah and Goldbeck, 1962). For a start, what did Otto Gross look like? According to Levinas, 'ethics begins in apprehending the face of the Other' (Pickering, 2008: 50). Today, only five photographs are known to have survived (all in this book). The writer Leonhard Frank remembered Gross from ca. 1907/08:

> The upper part of his face – blue eyes with an innocent, naïve gaze, a hooked nose and full lips which were always slightly opened, as if, panting silently, he was carrying the misery of the whole world – did not quite match the weakly lower part, the chin, which was only hinted at and somehow got totally lost towards the back. Whoever had seen this fanatical bird's face once, seemingly made of slightly tinted china, never forgot it. (1976: 12)

The artist Ernst Wagner (1877–1951) saw Otto Gross as an eagle, albeit with 'lamed wings. But his daring, penetrating eyes looked into mine in such a way that I immediately felt unmasked' (n.d.: 182).

In the 1911 Swiss police warrant, Gross is described as:

> Height ca. 180 cm, slim, reddish hair, mostly unkempt, bit of reddish beard, pointed nose with a blue tip, diseased, mouth rather large, complete set of teeth, face unclean, sickly, gait forward bent, takes big, irregular steps, and nearly always looks at the ground. (Anon., 1911a)

At the same time, a journalist reported:

> Dr Gross generally caused a sensation due to his peculiar appearance and even more stranger habits. The couple [Gross and Benz] had been thrown out of several restaurants in Locarno. As a rule, Gross wore a large adhesive plaster on his nose, and his features will remain ineradicably in the mind of even the most forgetful observer. (Anon. 1911)

In 1913, the psychiatrist of the Private Sanatorium, Tulln, Austria, noted:

> Patient gives the impression of a totally derelict man. His outer appearance is completely neglected, he is unkempt and unshaven, covered in dust and dirt; his clothes are dotted with stains and smeared, the shoes covered in faeces; the shirt is clammy from sweat and dirt. [. . .] The facial expression is morose; pale-coloured, forehead covered with an enormous number of small pearls of sweat. [. . .] Gait with strange propulsion, mannered, often almost dance-like. (Bonvicini, in Berze and Stelzer, 1913: 30)

Werfel portrayed Gross in his 1922 drama *Schweiger* (1959): 'He wears a coarse woollen coat as well as a hat which he removes, so that one can see his dense, grey-blond hair. His trousers are somewhat frayed and get pulled up with each of his strangely springy step' (1959: 329–30).

Reminiscing about 1919, Werfel recalled, 'The unsettled head showed a magnificently hooked nose, which only slightly dropped off at the tip. Grey-blond hair hanging low over his forehead' (1990: 322–3), his 'steady-grateful gaze showed a straight-lined naïvete we may occasionally notice in the eyes of a fanatic' (ibid.: 325):

> [He] spoke the German of the higher state-officials in Austria, which has the colour of darkened paintings. [. . .] The grey-blond head of a strange bird of prey swayed, bent low [. . .] A ragged eagle-head, a tousled rooster-of prey [. . .] nodding tenderly, picking words. (Ibid.: 329)

Werfel only learnt of Gross's death by receiving a mysterious parcel which contained his death mask: 'the most beautiful human face I can think of . . . I always and always look at it' (ibid.: 580).

'The conflict between self and other', perceived by Gross as the core human conflict, certainly pertains to any biographical endeavour: what can we really know about the life of an other – especially one ended almost a hundred years ago? Gross's daughter Sophie Templer-Kuh, in her 100th year (2016), summarily stated, 'A human being has *been* here. All that once has been is certainly *here*. What a human being has given, is *certainly* here. In this way, my father is present.' When I had first met her, she had suggested, 'One should rather remain silent about that which one does not know' (in Heuer, 1997), referring to biographers filling unknown areas of their subjects' lives with their fantasies. Just as we may liken consciousness to a small island in the infinite ocean of the

unconscious, so what is possible to know about the life of an other compares to what remains unknown, unknowable. According to Levinas, it is the ethical 'standpoint of standing before the Other as one would approach the holiest of holies' (Pickering 2008: 50).

Otto Johann (or Hans) Baptist Adolf Gross (Figure 11) was born 17 March 1877 in the small village of Gniebing near Feldbach in Styria, south-east Austria. (An alternatively used spelling, 'Grohs', clearly indicates as correct pronunciation an open 'o', as in English 'dose', *not* the brief one in English 'gross'.) His father Hans Gross (1847–1915; Figure 12) was an examining magistrate and, as professor of criminology, a leading international authority in this field, seen as the Father of Criminal Investigation. The 1893 publication of his *Handbook for Coroners, Police Officials, Military Policemen*, 'known as the Bible of crime detection' (Wilson, 1990: 25), constitutes the birth of criminology as a new science. With his 1898 book *Criminal Psychology*, Hans Gross added a psychological perspective to his work. Otto Gross's mother was Adelaide 'Adele' Maria Eleonara, née Rayman (1854–1942; Figure 13).

Educated mostly by private tutors, his parents thought Otto a '*Wunderkind*' (Berze and Stelzer, 1913: 32). His mother wrote about the 10-year-old as 'our wicked boy, whose main striving is not to be the way he is supposed to be' (in Kocher, 2005: 98). Very early, he was sexually traumatized: his lawyer Otto Pellech later testified, the boy '*was kept overlong in the parents' bedroom, where [. . .], due their unbelievable naïvete, he witnessed their most blissful moments*' (in Bertschinger-Joos, 2014: 243). Gross himself recalled, 'I was terribly frightened by my parents' sexuality; as a five-year old I linked it with an image of stabbing chicken to death, and I had a sense of rape' (in Berze and Stelzer, 1913: 25).

Gross became addicted to drugs in adolescence, initially to arsenic, use of which was widespread as it was believed to increase virility, and then later to cocaine and morphine. He became a medical doctor in 1899 and worked for the next three years as a psychiatrist and assistant doctor in Graz, Munich, Czernowitz (today Chernivtsi, Ukraine) and Kiel. Gross also travelled for six months as a ship's surgeon to South America. His doctoral thesis, a dictionary about the effects of different drugs, was published in 1901. In 1902, Gross was treated for drug addiction – apparently by C.G. Jung – at the Burghölzli. On admission, he signed a printed declaration that the undersigned entered the clinic voluntarily; with an added handwritten note: 'that he wishes to be kept in the institution against his will if necessary'. Director Eugen Bleuler assured Gross's father 'we are happy for him to do voluntary work here' (in Küchenhoff, 2002: 51). Gross's initial contact with Freud seems to have occurred around the same time. Franz Jung claimed that Gross became 'Freud's assistant' (1921a: 195). C.G. Jung also seems to imply an early encounter in a 1908 letter to Freud: 'I wish Gross would meet you once *again* analytically' (Freud and Jung, 1974: 161; emph. G.H.), as if Gross had previously been Freud's patient. In the autumn of 1902, Gross's initial presentations as unpaid lecturer at the *Psychiatrisch-neurologische Universitätsklinik,* Graz, were 'On Freud's Psychotherapeutic Methods' – the first time these were taught at university.

FIGURE 11 Otto Gross. © Otto Gross Archive/Gottfried M. Heuer, London.

FIGURE 12 Adele Gross (?). Bequest Hurwitz, Zurich.

In 1903, Gross married Frida Emilie Marie Sofie Schloffer (1876–1950; Figure 14) (she always wrote her name as 'Frieda'). 'The Grazers don't like him,' she wrote to her life-long close friend Else Jaffé (1874–1973): 'Partly it is the aversion of the Philistines towards genius. But then he really has been a restless man' (Tufts, 001/26). Franz Jung later confirmed, 'One might say that from morning till night he was searching for someone with whom he might be able to communicate' (1921a: 192).

Throughout his life, Gross remained financially dependent on his parents. In 1905, he travelled for the first time to Ascona, where he met the anarchists Mühsam and his partner Nohl. In 1907, he became an assistant psychiatrist with Emil Kraepelin (1856–1926) in Munich, and began to thrive in the bohemian circles of Schwabing, the city's countercultural quarter: 'the first information about Professor Freud's new doctrine reached the intellectual circles of Munich and started to hold sway over all of Schwabing's life. Its enthusiastic apostle was the still youthful Graz psychiatrist Dr Otto Gross' (Mühsam, 2000a: 315).

Dividing his time between Schwabing and Ascona, Gross had a strong influence on the whole generation of writers who became his friends: Max Brod, Leonhard Frank, Franz Jung, Franz Kafka, Franz Werfel, and many others (see Michaels,

FIGURE 13 Hans Gross, 1847–1915. © *Hans Gross Kriminalmuseum, Universitätsmuseen der Karl-Franzens-Universität*, Christian Bachhiesl, Graz, Austria.

1983). What united them all was the revolution of the new against all that was tradition – the rebellion of the sons against the generation of their fathers. Gross supplied this rebellion with a foundation of psychoanalytic theory. He was not only preaching the sexual revolution, a term he is said to have coined (Werfel, 1990: 349), but was living it – as he understood it. In 1907, after the birth of their son Peter († 1946), Frieda Gross wrote to Jaffé (Figure 15) about the 'pact', an agreement of sexual freedom between herself and Gross: 'it really is a dog's life which I am leading, as far as he is concerned' (Tufts 001/37). It pushed her to the brink of suicide. Yet she invited her friend to visit, and a sexual relationship ensued between Else and Gross: late in 1907, Jaffé gave birth to a son, also named Peter († 1915), without this clouding the loving friendship between the two women. Jaffé praised Gross to her sister, Frieda Weekley (1879–1956), 'as a "lover" he is incomparable' (in Green, 1974: 53). Subsequently, Weekley also had an affair with Gross, believing at one point that she, too, might have become pregnant by him. She later reminisced that Gross 'had wakened up her soul in her that had lain coiled up and asleep' (F. Lawrence, 1961: 90). For Gross, she was 'the woman of the future' (Gross and Weekley, 1990: 198). A few years later,

FIGURE 14 Frieda Gross with her and Otto Gross's son Peter. Bequest Bertschinger-Joos, Zurich. © Otto Gross Archive/Gottfried M. Heuer, London.

Weekley met and married D.H. Lawrence, allegedly having told him 'that he was another Otto' (Green, 1974: 61). Through her, Gross had an impact on Lawrence and thus – indirectly – on Anglo-American literature.

In Heidelberg, Jaffé was married to Edgar Jaffé (1866–1921), a colleague of Max Weber (1864–1920), founder of modern sociology, who was also in love with her, as was his brother, Alfred Weber (1868–1958). In 1907, with Else Jaffé's recommendation, Gross submitted a paper 'on the psychology since Nietzsche and Freud' to the journal her husband was editing with Max Weber. Although Weber wrote a scathing rejection, Gross's ideas of the sexual revolution made a deep impression on him (Whimster, ed., 1999; 2011). In the autumn of 1907, Gross presented at the International Congress for Neuro-Psychiatry in Amsterdam where he met Jung again, and vigorously defended Freud's theories. Ernest Jones met Gross there for the first time.

In 1908, Gross gave a talk at the 1st Psychoanalytic Congress in Salzburg. His wife accompanied him – 'one of the few Germanic women I have ever liked', Freud had commented earlier (Freud and Jung, 1974: 141; t.m.). Freud reprimanded Gross for his political activism – virtually the beginning of Gross's

FIGURE 15 Else Jaffé. © David O. Friedrichs, Scranton, Pennsylvania, USA.

exclusion from the psychoanalytic movement – and referred him to Jung for treatment of his drug addiction.

Before admitting himself to the Burghölzli, Gross met with Jones, who had come to Munich to study with Kraepelin. Jones later praised Gross as 'my first instructor in the practice of psycho-analysis' (1990: 173). Again under accusation of sexual improprieties towards child patients in London (Kuhn, 2002), Jones had explained to Freud that he wanted 'to go to Munich to help the Grosses' (in Freud and Jung, 1974: 146). 'The little woman seems to be seriously smitten with him', Freud commented to Jung (ibid.), and suggested to Jones he 'should not accede to Gross's insistence that he treat his wife, but to try to gain influence over him. It looks as if this were going to end badly' (ibid.). Indeed, Jones reported, 'My relation with [Gross's] wife is of course difficult.' However, 'her feeling for me is not so strong as you and I expected' (Freud and Jones, 1993: 2), adding, 'Gross is obsessed with my treating her'; he 'gets great delight in getting other men to love her – no doubt a perverse paranoiac development of his free love ideas' (ibid.: 1). Somewhat bashfully, in his autobiography Jones – later nicknamed 'erogenous Jones' (Ken Robinson, 2015: 445) – just admitted to having left 'a little volume of poems' with 'a Lady from Styria' (Jones, 1990: 174), having assured Freud, 'I am just having some talks with her' (Freud and Jones, 1993: 1). Actually, Jones and Frieda Gross had a sexual relationship while Gross was in analysis with

Jung at the Burghölzli (Ken Robinson, 2015). Stylistically reminiscent of Gross's love letters, Jones gushed to Frieda Gross:

> All day I have been struggling hard to get back to earth after having been – was it a year or a minute? – in paradise. Ah, it was a godlike time and I am flowing over with gratitude to you for all you gave me. Today I have not had time to realize that [. . .] I am no longer in the Queen's presence. (In ibid.: 448)

Gross's – sometimes mutual – analysis with C.G. Jung lasted barely seven weeks in May–June 1908. Even before it began, Hans Gross had contacted both Bleuler and Jung, hoping to get a diagnosis of his son's mental illness that would help get him under his legal control. Otto Gross realized what was at stake and broke off the treatment. A month later, the Swiss writer Regina Ullmann (1884–1961; Figure 16), who had been Gross's patient and lover, gave birth to their daughter Camilla († 2000) in Munich.

In 1908/09, Gross's analysis of the Goesch brothers, family members and friends (see Chapter 3.), had far-reaching effects: the artist Käthe Kollwitz, cousin

FIGURE 16 Regina Ullmann, with her daughters Camilla and Gertraud 'Gerda'. Bequest Kahl, Feldkirchen, Germany. © Otto Gross Archive / Gottfried M. Heuer, London.

of Gertrud Goesch, Heinrich's wife, wrote in her diary, 'In Jena an association for polygamy has been founded. 100 selected men plan to have intercourse with 1000 women for the purpose of producing offspring. As soon as a woman gets pregnant, the marriage is to be dissolved' (1989: 119). Implicitly, Kollwitz was blaming Gross, not taking into account that the various

> bohemian groupings of that period developed their life-styles in this respect autochthonously and Gross seems to have not only been an instigator but also a participant, although he certainly assigned a new meaning to these experiments on the basis of psychoanalytic concepts. (Springer, 2014)

Kollwitz's younger sister Lisbeth Stern was influenced 'by the Goeschs' [. . .] open confession to polygamy' (Kollwitz, 1989: 47). Married, Stern lived in a *ménage à trois* with the psychiatrist Max Wertheimer (1880–1943), Hans Gross's former student, who, in May 1909, brought legal action against Gross for quackery in Munich. For information about his former patient, the police turned to C.G. Jung. He informed Hans Gross, who hoped that his son 'leaves Munich a.s.a.p.' (in Hurwitz, 1979: 207) to avoid arrest.

At the same time, Otto Gross suggested to his friend, the metalworker, anarchist and painter Ernst Frick (1881–1956), that he begin a relationship with his wife. In 1907, Frick had taken part in an unsuccessful armed assault on the Zurich police barracks in an attempt to free an incarcerated comrade. In the following trial, Hans Gross lent his support to Frick, whom he had previously met. Frick served time in prison. Frieda Gross complained about him to Jaffé:

> I see [his] face nearly always sad to the death. I would let myself be quartered to make him happy. Life with him is almost as difficult as with Otto – without the unheard-of happiness Otto was able to live and give. (Tufts, 001/42)

A year later, pregnant by Frick, she miscarried. Subsequently, she had three daughters with him: Eva Verena Schloffer (1910–2005), Cornelia Gross (1918–95) and Ruth Gross (1920–63). In 1911, Frick also had a brief relationship with Frieda Weekley, and visited her in England.

In Munich, Gross deeply fell in love with Sophie Benz (1884–1911; Figure 17), 'the most beautiful and most interesting girl at the Café Stephanie' (Szittya, 2014: 670), an art student who later committed suicide – like Lotte Hattemer, with a drug overdose provided by Gross. Franz Jung wrote a harrowing account of their relationship (1915). Gross was suspected of having assisted Benz's suicide – even having murdered her. Frick, who also had had a relationship with Benz, apparently even threatened to kill Gross because he held him responsible for her death. However, in his diary, Mühsam worried:

> Sophie Benz's death affects the poor guy terribly. With her he has lost everything a man can lose, and I often saw him crying these days for his

FIGURE 17 Sophie Benz. Bequest Eberl, Ellwangen, Germany. © Otto Gross Archive / Gottfried M. Heuer, London.

> beloved . . . [sic]. In any case, I am certain now that he not only did not give her any suggestion to commit suicide, but that he has worked for a long time against the suicidal tendency in her. (2000: 13–14)

Gross later asserted:

> The only consolation in remembering that time, is that at least I succeeded in preventing her, in the state she was in, from falling into the hands of strangers, nor into surroundings in which she would have had to feel abandoned. (in Berze and Stelzer, 1913: 26–7)

At the time, in 1911, Gross was under police surveillance in Switzerland. He was hospitalized in Mendrisio, southern Switzerland, and subsequently in Steinhof near Vienna (see the Appendix).

Two years later, Gross lived in Berlin where he had a considerable impact on the writers and artists who created Berlin Dada, among them Franz Jung, and especially Raoul Hausman (1886–1971), and Hannah Höch (1889–1978): numerous texts Hausmann wrote at the time read like long quotations from Gross. Similar to Frieda Gross, Höch suffered from Hausmann's emotional brutality in the guise of

the sexual revolution. Gross published some of his most important papers in the radical Berlin journal *Die Aktion*.

In November 1913, partly based on C.G. Jung's misdiagnosis, Gross's father had him arrested by German police in Franz Jung's Berlin flat, and forcibly interned in psychiatric institutions in Austria. The circumstances of Gross's arrest appear to have inspired the beginning of Kafka's novel *The Trial*, written in the following year: 'Somebody must have been telling lies about Otto G. . . . ', professor of literature Anz paraphrased (1984). Franz Jung wrote:

> According to Gross, supposedly the final straw was a paper Gross planned to publish about the father in a psychoanalytic journal, starting with an analysis of the sadism inherent in the social role of an investigating judge, with associations to the father, [. . .] as well as the corresponding sadistic reflexes in his position vis-à-vis the family and the son Otto. Somehow this manuscript had fallen into the hands of the father or was passed on to him. (1991: 86–7)

Max Weber also referred to such a text, 'containing as its main example a particular piggery: the marital sex-life of the same *father*, including naming him' (2003: 595; see also Whimster, ed., 1999: 57). This text is not known to have survived, but from a book-length manuscript on a new ethics, said to have disappeared in the course of Gross's arrest, a brief excerpt was saved and published. The following passage from this text might give a flavour of what Gross had intended to describe in greater detail:

> The constellation deriving from present-day family structures – rape by one of the marital partners, the absolute dependence of the woman on the man, unrelatedness to the child, insofar as the child is excluded from the experience (next-door-eroticism), [. . .] (the currently accepted principles of education tend towards asexuality), the son as the focus of a cluster of pathological complexes, caused by his mother's rejection, and as the object of his father's jealousy, which extends from feelings of impotence to fervent hatred. (Gross, 1913)

The psychiatrists assessing Gross after his abduction, deemed his early sexual traumatizations 'obvious errors of memory' (Berze and Stelzer, 1913: 35), and judged him to suffer from 'insanity in the legal definition' (ibid.: 36). Diagnosed as incurably mentally ill, Gross was transferred to the asylum of Troppau (today Opava, Czech Republic) at the eastern borders of the Austrian Empire, as violent attempts by his radical friends to liberate him were anticipated. In February 1914, Gross reported from there to the Graz guardianship authorities:

> I now have complete insight into my illness, concerning both the direct psychopathic effects of the use of opium and cocaine, some of which go

> back years, as well as the indirect ones, i.e. the withdrawal symptoms of abstinence which I displayed during earlier institutionalizations. (In Heuer, 2000: 186)

By the time he was released some six months later, following an international press campaign initiated by his friends, Gross seems to have started to treat patients at the clinic. A trained psychiatrist himself, in 1915, he argued in a twenty-page submission to the Graz Court that the psychiatrists had, in fact, acted highly unprofessionally by basing their diagnosis on assessments made at the height of his drug withdrawal, to which – again, completely unprofessionally – they had subjected him abruptly rather than gradually. Gross concluded:

> The diagnosis of a hebephrenia [a form of chronic schizophrenia] by the expert of the Court amounts to the annihilation of my civil existence. As an expert myself, I know well how unavoidable psychiatric mistakes can sometimes be. I believe, however, that it could have been avoided to overlook the intermediate withdrawal-effects. [. . .] I also cannot help having the impression that some of the barely comprehensible conclusions, based on misunderstandings [. . .] are based on a relatively low philosophical experience of the examiners. It should have been possible, with a bit more self-control, to find a more exact insight into the psychic life of the examined. (In Hurwitz, 1979: 244)

Nevertheless, in a series of lawsuits, Hans Gross succeeded to have his son legally declared to be of diminished responsibility and placed under his guardianship. He even tried to have this extended to his grandson Peter, which the court refused. In 1914, Gross was further analysed by Wilhelm Stekel (1868–1940), who deemed Jung's diagnosis of schizophrenia 'incorrect', and concluded that Gross 'really suffered from a severe neurosis complicated with indulgence in opium and cocaine' (1920a: 44). Specifically, Stekel diagnosed latent sadomasochism and an inability to handle money, and he interpreted Gross's continuing dependency on his father – in the sexuality-focused psychoanalytic thinking of that time – as latent homosexuality. Unlike Gross himself, Stekel had no understanding of the roots of Gross's sufferings in early emotional deprivation and abuse, and therefore only perceived immature rebelliousness. However, after Gross's death, Stekel wrote a movingly empathic obituary (see below), and quoted Gross in his works throughout his life. The analysis ended at the outbreak of the Great War (ibid.: 44). Whilst in analysis with Stekel, Gross began a relationship with a nurse working at the sanatorium, Marianne 'Mizzi' Kuh (1894–1948; Figure 18). For him, she was 'the figure of light he has longed for throughout his life' (Stekel, 1953: 158; t.m.). In November 1915, Gross asked his wife for a divorce, as he wanted to marry Kuh (Bertschinger-Joos, 2014: 272–3). He volunteered to work as a military doctor and – surprisingly, considering his legal status – was accepted to practise in and also head epidemic military hospitals in the Balkans. Initially, Stekel and Gross worked in the same hospital,

FIGURE 18 Marianne 'Mizzi' Kuh.

where Gross 'proved himself a very skilful, humane, and hard-working physician' (Stekel, 1953: 159).

In December 1915, Hans Gross died. A year later, Gross and Kuh had a daughter, Sophie. Today, she lives in Berlin and is the Honorary President of the International Otto Gross Society. In 1916, Gross discussed with Kafka that they might edit a journal together, and another – also unrealized plan – was to publish a *Journal against the Will to Power*, with Kuh's brother Anton, then a famous satirist, and Werfel. Shortly afterwards, Gross did realize his plan for a journal together with Franz and Cläre Jung (1892–1981), the painter Georg Schrimpf (1889–1938) and other Berlin Dadaists: *The Free Road*, as 'preparatory work for the revolution'.

To treat his drug addiction, Gross, now under limited guardianship, was again briefly treated in a psychiatric clinic in 1917. Legally still married to his wife, and intending to marry Kuh, Gross also had relationships not only with her sister, Nina Kuh (1897–1955), but, possibly, also with a second sister, Margarethe Kuh (1891–1978?; Templer-Kuh, 1998a).

On a night train in the summer of 1917, Kafka met Gross, Marianne Kuh, their daughter Sophie and Anton Kuh. Three years later, Kafka reminisced:

> I have hardly known Otto Gross; but I realized that there was something essential here that at least with its hand reached out of the 'ridiculous' *(aus dem "Lächerlichen")*. The perplexed frame of mind of his friends and relatives (wife, brother-in-law, even the enigmatically silent baby amongst the travelling-bags [. . .]) was somewhat reminiscent of the mood of the followers of Christ as they stood below him who was nailed to the cross. I was just coming from Budapest, then, [. . .] going to Prague and towards a violent haemorrhage. (Kafka, 1983: 78–9)

The failure of the German revolution following the Great War, and its violent suppression, must have been a bitter disappointment for Gross. His life seemed to spin further and further out of control. Restless, he periodically lived with his mother in Graz, whilst travelling to Vienna, Prague, Budapest and Berlin. He published some of his most important writings during these years. In his final months, Gross stayed in Berlin with Franz and Cläre Jung, 'writing feverishly' (F. Jung, 1921a: 219), as his addiction worsened. 'Who could blame him that throughout his life he aimed to force the future [towards an aliveness in the here-and-now] – to just be able to continue to breathe?' (ibid: 218). Years earlier, Gross (1907: 142) had mentioned *The Red Laugh* (2013) by the Russian expressionist writer Leonid Andreyev (1871–1919), a haunting account of the disintegration of a man traumatized by war. Today, it almost reads like what then happened to Gross. 'Never before did anybody show more clearly the will to no longer stay alive than Gross did in that time' (F. Jung, 1921a: 218–19):

> Night after night he stayed in the streets without a home, without narcotics, in search of which he hurried from pharmacy to pharmacy. All who wanted to help him realized that it was impossible. One was not allowed to, and Gross also refused it. He wept, longing for a warm place, for this and that, but then he didn't really bother. He lost the money people gave him. Didn't find the pharmacy anymore which still provided him with narcotics. Forgot the address of the flat where he was expected. Thus, in December one could see a starving and ragged man rushing through the snow flurries, weeping aloud and then kind of crawling into himself to keep chest and fingers warm. People stopped and their laughter followed him. A madman, most of them thought. Yet he stumbled onwards. (Ibid.: 219)

Otto Gross died of pneumonia on 13 February 1920 in Berlin, two days after having been found in a doorway, nearly starved and half-frozen. Although not Jewish, his death certificate states 'Mosaic' as his religion. Thus, 'by accident' (Hurwitz, 1979: 306), he was buried in a Jewish cemetery. In spite of intensive research on the Jewish cemeteries still existing in Berlin, the site of Gross's grave remains unknown.

The only immediate reaction to Gross's death within the psychoanalytic world was Stekel's 'In Memoriam': 'I know only that I am acquainted with no one

who more terribly laid waste to his powers, no one who might have done greater things' (1920a: 49). Reviewing Gross's final published book (1920a), Stekel appreciated '[t]his highly talented physician, to whom we owe two of the most stimulating works in psychoanalytic literature' (1920: 57). He does not specify which works he refers to, but in the obituary he highlighted Gross's *Freud's Ideogenic . . .* (1907), and *On Psychopathic Inferiorities* (1909). Stekel concluded his account of Gross's analysis with 'A hope of analysis sank with him into the grave' (1953: 160).

Franz Jung planned to publish a selection of Gross's most relevant writings under the title, 'From sexual misery to social catastrophe by Dr med. Otto Gross' (1921a), a title implicitly referring to Gross's linking of the personal with the political. Only a brief announcement of Gross's death was made by Jones at the International Psycho-Analytical Congress in Salzburg four years later (1924: 403). In 1929, Werfel stated, 'Even [Gross's] fiercest opponents agreed that he was one of the most important men of his time' (1990: 354–5).

There are, however, several mysterious posthumous re(?)-appearances of Otto Gross: one is a registration form, dated Vienna, 1 March 1944, filled out in his name, and including correct details (Figure 19).

A website for William Wyler's 1953 film *Roman Holiday* lists an 'Otto Gross – uncredited' (Anon., n.d.b.), as does the film's video cassette.

In a novel from the mid-1950s, Szittya has Gross

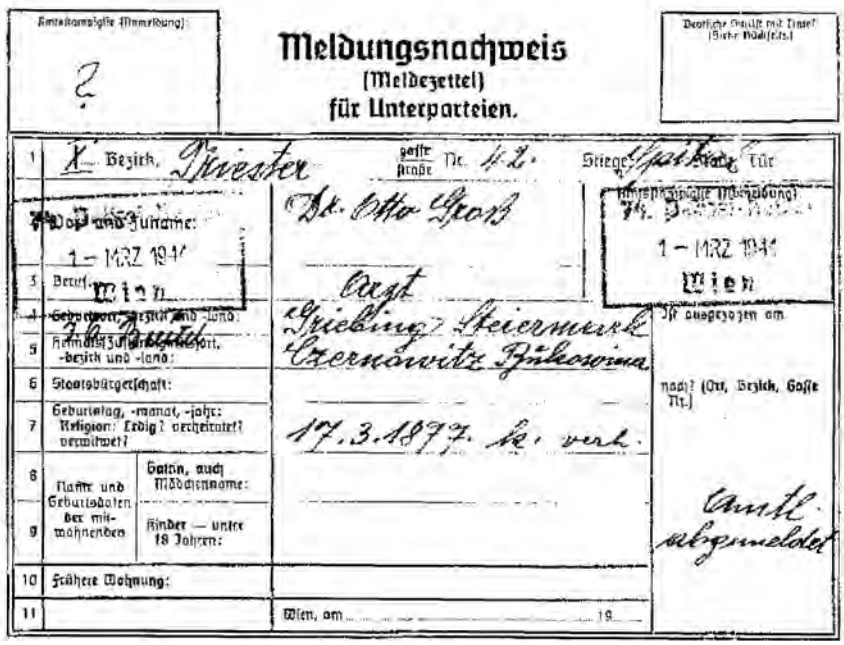
Meldungsnachweis
(Meldezettel)
für Unterparteien.
Dr. Otto Gross
Arzt
Gräfenberg Steiermark
Czernowitz Bukowina
17.3.1877. kg. verh.
1 – MRZ 1944
Wien
Amtl. abgemeldet

FIGURE 19 *Meldeformular* (Registration form). © Otto Gross Archive/Gottfried M. Heuer, London.

> return[ing] to Germany [. . .], a tall, skinny man with a white beard. Nobody was to know who he was. [. . .] Shortly before Hitler's defeat, the unknown man smuggled himself into a concentration camp as a Hitler-victim. [. . .] The Americans freed [him] [. . .]. They immediately let him go to America. (1998: 27)

* * *

Before concluding this chapter about Gross's life with brief biographical summaries of the lives of his children – and since 'relationship' was indeed the central focus of his life and work – I place here a few considerations of how Gross actually lived the relationships with those closest to him. It seems almost to be an intrinsic part of the human condition that there be a difference between our aspirations on the one hand, and our capacities to realize them on the other: it is said to be the space history occurs in . . . . In Gross's life, this space opens up to rather dark and sinister depths indeed. Following the advice, 'what we shouldn't do [is] close our eyes and hope no one would notice' (O'Hagan, 2014: 8), I consider it an ethical responsibility not to hide Gross's shadow-side.

It is obvious from Gross's writings – including his personal letters – that he idealized women, and it is true that none of his psychoanalytic contemporaries were able to write with a comparable caring empathy about the emotional situation of the child in the family. Both stand in painful contrast to aspects of the way Gross actually lived his relationships with lovers, his children and friends. He was a charismatic man: Franz Jung described:

> For me, Otto Gross meant the experience of a first and deep, great friendship, I would have sacrificed myself for him without any hesitation. [. . .] It was a mixture of respect and faith, the desire to believe and to revere. (1991: 90)

Yet he continued, 'Perhaps for Gross I did not mean much more than a figure to be pushed this way and that on the chessboard of his thought combinations' (ibid.). It may well be the flipside of such a relationship that 'faith and reverence' turn into their opposite: '[E]specially those who had been closest to him [. . .] later hated him most fiercely and hurt him most deeply' (1921a: 190). But this portrays Gross as passive victim only – Jung conceded:

> Gross did make many people unhappy, at least according to those concerned, he inhibited, and maybe even destroyed them. He made many people happy, free and capable of growing. At times, always the former were identical with the latter [. . .]. He was neither a fantasist nor a demon, neither raping nor infantile nor masochistic-sadistic, neither good nor bad; he was a human being, tortured by suffering, lonely, screaming for love, who, above all, was searching for the truth. (1921a: 218)

The writer Karl Otten, analysed by Gross around 1908, aptly expressed Gross's way of analysing as a way of life: 'Permanent analysis as a road to freedom' (1963: 30). This kind of relating – the way Gross understood the sexual revolution – requires questioning, precisely for its degree of unrelatedness.

Around the same time, in a kind of farewell letter (already quoted from in Chapters 2 and 3), dated 15 December, Jaffé challenged Gross – nine days before she gave birth to their son:

> I just do not believe that life allows us to live it without compromise. [. . .] [T]he relationship to Regina Ullmann, [. . .] your [. . .] ruthlessness toward Frieda [Gross] are only symptoms of a development deeply rooted in your nature: Friedele [Frieda Gross] was quite correct when she told me in the summer, 'Do you not see that Otto is the prophet for whom it can only mean: whoever is not <u>for</u> me is against me?' –
>
> In a way, now the prophet has burnt up the final remains of Otto as a human being and has taken from him the capacity to individually love another individual person, according to their individuality. [. . .] For you, there are now <u>only</u> followers of your teachings (something of this was always there), no longer a particular wife loved for her <u>essential</u> self. It can hardly be any other way. Now, naturally, one can imagine that a wife renounces her personal needs for love and, totally consumed in the holy fire, makes every sacrifice to remain next to him in whose goals she completely believes. But what if she cannot <u>completely</u> believe, Otto?
>
> If she cannot <u>completely</u> believe, could she still remain with the <u>human being</u> for the sake of her own love – but would the prophet tolerate this without continually wrestling with her soul [. . .] ?
>
> [. . .] It seems quite pointless to make any sacrifices for you or your cause, because you are destroying your capacity to achieve by your senselessly raging attacks against your health. We really do not know how much of what makes your ideas unacceptable for us – the absence of discrimination, the total lack of nuances and the capacity to distinguish between individual human beings – is ultimately caused by morphine. (In Gross and Jaffé, 1998: 156; t.m.)

Arguing with Gross's own ideas, Jaffé links the relationship to himself with the ways he relates to others. Gross certainly did 'live without compromise', as she put it, both privately as well as professionally, as I have shown. Unlike Ferenczi, for example, he did not obey Freud's injunction that he stop political activism. However, Jaffé points to an aspect of Gross's living without compromise where, in his most intimate relationships, this resulted in a narcissistic ruthlessness in pursuit of his own ideas with hardly any concern for the other.

In addition, considering specifically the way he reacted to the pregnancies of his wife and lovers, and seems to have ignored their children, might it make

sense to speculate that, intrapsychically, corresponding to Gross's fierce battle against both his own father as well as patriarchy in general, he developed a phobia of fatherhood? A kind of pattern emerges due to a seeming incapacity to face fatherhood within himself: at the time of her suicide in 1906, assisted by Gross, Lotte Hattemer may have been pregnant by his friend Nohl (Szittya, 1998: 17). Could it have been due to Gross's emotional absence during his wife's pregnancy with their son Peter, that Frieda Gross considered drowning herself? There had been times, as she confided to her friend Jaffé in 1907, when even her pregnancy would not have stopped her (Tufts, 0001/37). In the following year, when Gross learnt from Ullman that their relationship had resulted in her being pregnant, Martin Green claimed that Gross left poison for her to commit suicide with (1974: 57n). Although unable to remember his source (Green, 2002), he may well have heard this from Jaffé, whom he interviewed in 1973 (Green, 1974: xiii–xiv). In the autumn of 1909, at the beginning of Gross's relationship with Benz, she was pregnant by someone unknown (Bertschinger-Joos, 2014: 130–31). In Franz Jung's fictionalized account of Benz and Gross's relationship, presumably based on what Gross told him, 'Otto' in 1910/11 recalling his wife's pregnancy, remarks, 'Then, I only wanted to drown Frieda because she was pregnant with my child' (1915: 140).

Considering this pattern, can it be a mere coincidence that, during the Great War, according to a police report, 'the anarchist' Gross left Marianne Kuh in Vienna 'for the Romanian front' (in Dvorak, 1979) just two days before the birth of their daughter Sophie in November 1916? In spite of the fact that Werfel wrote the semi-autobiographical novel, containing the following passage, at a time when he was eager to convince his rather more conservative wife-to-be Alma Mahler (1879–1964) that his politically radical years belonged to his past, his account appears authentic. Werfel describes his desertion from the army and finding shelter with Gross and Kuh. However, even under these circumstances, horrified by the utter deprivation of their living conditions, he feels compelled to leave

> this hiding-place after only three days. [. . .] It was not only the dirt, the crowdedness and the noise – the reason was the child. Yes, this screaming organism that lay without any supervision in a linen basket on the table whilst next to it the meandering pathways of Eros were being discussed, was a child, [. . .] [left to] whimper for quarter-hours before [. . .] [the mother] came with a baby bottle the content of which rather resembled murky soap water than milk. An unhappy being, yellow, with a sunken-in skull, covered in eczema, lay there in greasy nappies without getting them changed. [. . .] this swollen baby-face that did not have anything human in it. A long-lasting terror gripped [. . .] [the author]. Why did this small body have to live like this? Why did those who were to blame for its life not love it? It was obvious that [. . .] [Otto], the man of the renewal of love, did not even see this

> child – if he did not hate it. When it whimpered, he held his hands over his ears. [. . .] According to [. . .] [the author's] feelings, this unhappy creature had only a few more weeks to live. [. . .] He ardently wished that the little bastard would die soon. [. . .] Right into his dream he was pursued by a horrible image. He saw [. . .] [Otto] eating his own child – like the mythic god. (Werfel, 1990: 353–4)

Later, Werfel refers to 'this yellow-brown thing, this hunch-backed, rachitic gnome, [. . .] the child No-name' (ibid.: 490). However, the 'thing', as he calls her, Sophie Templer-Kuh, survived all the protagonists of Werfel's novel, including the author. She commented: 'I don't think Werfel was ill-intentioned when he wrote this. Sometimes I wish he could see what has become of the whimpering, neglected child' (in Heuer, 2008: 413).

Nevertheless, many of those closest to Gross spoke of him in a highly positive way: for Jaffé, he 'was the only one capable of relieving my soul of this agonizing heaviness' (Jaffé, 1908/09); for Werfel, in spite of his sharp criticism, Gross was 'The most important person I have ever met in my life' (1990: 579). There certainly was a different side to Gross, too. He replied to Jaffé's challenge, quoted above:

> My Else, it makes me extremely sad [. . .] that my image in your mind is [. . .] more and more transforming itself. – Else, that is just <u>not me</u>! Else, for once, look at me directly – for God's sake, I am not wearing that grey cloak of fog! That would really be too dreadful a costume for me – I certainly would not be able to endure that for long . . . I know I have been through a stage of development which has come rather close to a kind of "prophethood" – and this was, actually by its essentially <u>alien</u> feeling, perhaps the <u>strongest</u> motivation for me to finally see myself in need of revision. I have recognized in myself that every tendency towards "prophethood" is a tendency of <u>self-betrayal</u> – as one <u>replaces</u> in one's <u>own self</u> the truth one <u>knows in principle</u> as beneficial and hopeful with an illusion . . . I have <u>freed</u> myself from this conflict – and thus I am further away than ever from any kind of "prophethood". Else, I have nothing else to "teach" but forever this one issue – that only through recognizing one's own development can the individuality truly free itself. [. . .]
>
> Look now, how could <u>your</u> striving towards <u>your</u> goal possibly "consume in his own fire" the human being in myself? How shall <u>this</u> perspective and <u>this</u> vocational practice have developed within me at the cost of my capacity "to individually love an individual"? –
>
> I can actually show you the very opposite: it is exactly this particular professional experience which has <u>saved me from</u> resembling the type of "prophet". I <u>have been</u> on such a path – <u>in Holland</u> [at the Amsterdam

Congress; G.H.] – there I did act with the fatal fanaticism, with the fatal gesture of the "prophet" – my single suggestive success . . . and that was possible because there I was so indescribably lonely, so wrongly understood, so overfull with loathing and contempt. [. . .]

Else, it is difficult for me – and so wrong, Else, when you write to me "you keep going further and further away" - - - - when I know so exactly that for people I feel close to, and who have once been close to me – I shall for ever be the very same and present - - I know what binds me to people, that is exactly that which is their most personal – that is their very own deepest individuality, that can never be lost [. . .]

The feeling for another human being can only change within a human being if he misunderstands this which is deepest, unchangeable . . . Day after day, this alien feeling of impersonality caused an inner tension within me to increase from day to day, which made me realize the necessity now to finally descend into myself - - since then, Else, I am truly free from the danger of fleeing into the impersonal out of fear of my own unconscious – and ultimately all prophethood is nothing else.

This, which is one's utmost imperishable own, which cannot change, whoever feels this rhythm of life, always remains the same for others – he never goes away from anyone he has once felt close to - - - that is the defining moment, whether someone is able to sense that which is unchangeable in the greatest depths of an other: only the deepest person can genuinely be faithful - - -

I will from now on accept no assent nor faith in me – but only the faith that justifies so much freedom as is necessary for the development of the individuality, and one's own insight into the individuality of oneself. - - No "prophet" is required to achieve that, Else, – on the contrary - - If there is anything that lethally descends onto the memory of what has been - that does not come out of my life, Else - - I do not want to live beyond my life being a continuous development, a continuous change and improvement – but that is a life-process that does not reach down into those depths where the feeling from one person to the other is defined.

Only then can the feeling for an other within a person possibly change if one misunderstands that which is the deepest, the unchangeable . . .

The only thing I want from those I feel close to – that is only this, that one does not misunderstand oneself within deepest essence of the soul – neither one's own, nor [that of the other. (?)]

Else, see me as the one as whom you have once seen me – I am the same – don't let that which has been die, Else!

Your Otto.

(Gross, 1907/08; all emphases and punctuation marks in the original, except [. . .]).

Some of these feelings are expressed even more poignantly in an undated later letter to his wife:

> Frieda, I can now express the whole fate of my life in these words: I have always thought about the others – what they were lacking and how they might be helped – but never about myself. Only the awareness of my own irredeemable guilt has brought me there and the experience of utter powerlessness to help ––I have always done for the others – there is nothing one can do alone – it is rooted in one's being. There is nothing one can do for others except to know that one carries inside the cause for any conflict, every sadness that may occur between two people, each rejection, and that is where one has to solve it.
>
> Today I would like to say that I almost no longer want to do any other analysis than of myself. At the very least: in every single moment of a darkening between myself and someone else, any instance of life being curbed, primarily [to look] within myself.
>
> I have always thought about what I might say to others. I believe that one will naturally say the right thing to the other once one has discovered how one has made him suffer oneself, and what one suffers from.
>
> You have suffered so much, Frieda, through me and I had never thought to look in my own unconscious for the reasons of what you suffer from. I have xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx [crossed-out] thought how I might help you to find yourself and I have not even known that I do not know myself.
>
> Your Otto (In Heuer, 2000: 201; see B. Heuer, 2011)

Otto Gross's descendants

Gross had four children with four different partners.

Peter Jaffé (Figure 20), the son of Gross and Jaffé, was born on Christmas Eve 1907 and died of diphtheria on 15 October 1915. His death inspired Rilke's poem 'Requiem on the death of a boy' (1956: 140–44).

Wolfgang Peter Gross (Figure 21), the son of Otto and Frieda Gross, was born on 31 January 1907 in Munich. Schooled in Switzerland and Germany, he read medicine after forays into philosophy and social economics. He received his medical degree in 1934, practised in Germany, and gained a further medical degree from Graz University in 1937. His last surviving letter from 1946 gives an impression of what he had to contend with as a physician in Nazi Germany:

> I have often fought hard for patients of mine in order to save them in Germany from the terrible and deeply unjust 'legality' of sterilization, castration, or to turn an unavoidable death from a terrifying one into one that is tolerable. (P. Gross, 1946)

FIGURE 20 Peter Jaffé. (The toy horse is mentioned in Rilke's poem 'Requiem on the death of a boy'.) © Otto Gross Archive/Gottfried M. Heuer, London.

Peter Gross was taking up some of the very issues which had alienated his father from his grandfather: Hans Gross had sided with the punitive legal and government authorities, advocating deportation as well as castration as humane, modern methods of controlling crime.

Between 1937 and 1940 Peter Gross trained as a psychoanalyst at the Deutsches Institut für Psychotherapie, Berlin. About to complete his training, having already practised analysis, his tuberculosis worsened late in 1940. His infection dated from 1933, when he had worked on the tuberculosis ward of Heidelberg's University hospital. Like his father, Peter Gross linked his professional concerns with political ones: he was shocked by the way Jews fleeing Nazi Germany were treated by the Swiss authorities:

> For a time it was legal to 'shove' back Jews across the border towards their German persecutors; as a Swiss soldier one knew that one shoved the Jews, albeit indirectly, 99% into the gas oven. It was a genuine military order, legal to the highest degree. [. . .] In various not unserious Swiss papers the number of Jews pushed back to their death is estimated to be a minimum of 50 000. (Ibid.)

FIGURE 21 Peter Gross. Bequest Bertschinger-Joos, Zurich. © Otto Gross Archive / Gottfried M. Heuer, London.

Peter Gross died in Davos Sanatorium on 21 September 1946, only a month after marrying Ruth Zubler, a nurse. Max Weber's widow Marianne sent her condolences to his mother, Frieda Gross:

> He was such a fine, sensitive man [. . .], he had such a deep understanding of other people's conditions and he was so mature. I have a radiant memory of him. [. . .] When a life ends before its time, we always suffer greatly. (Weber 1946)

Camilla Ullmann (in Figure 22) was born in Munich on 18 July 1908, the daughter of Gross and the writer Regina Ullmann. She grew up with different foster parents and in a foster home.

When I first rang her, Ullmann lived near Hamburg. 'Yes, of course you could come and visit', she told me on the phone,

> if you believe that it is worth your while. – Actually, it is a concern of mine, too, to talk with you about my father. You know, so many bad things have been written about him. And maybe some of them can be put right. Of course, he had his dark sides as well. But there was a lot of good in him, too, and that I carry within me like a gift. (Ullmann, 1997)

Her foster father was a joiner, she remembered, 'We used to play hide and seek in the coffins standing around' (in Heuer, 2002: 10). Else Jaffé frequently visited her in one of the children's homes, 'We owe this to Otto Gross', *Frau* Ullmann heard her say, then laughed, 'Well, one thought, this child of Otto Gross must not get lost' (ibid.).

Ullmann worked in England and Germany as a nanny and nurse. In the 1930s, at nursing college, she became friends with Maria Becker (?–?). They started living together, were separated towards the end of the war, but met up again afterwards. They lived together until Ullmann's death.

In 1949, Ullmann asked Jaffé about her father, who replied:

> I can much better express now what was so special about this 'Otto' whom so many people loved. That was his passionate striving to help people to find the inner worth hidden within them, hemmed in and bound by convention [. . .]. In that way he hoped to realize his urge to make the world a better place. I do not want to speak now of his errors and failings but about the fact that he really discovered and fostered in a number of people that which was essential to them, by saying again and again: You <u>can</u> do this, you <u>are</u> that! As long as he felt this vocation towards someone he used all his faith [. . .]. It certainly is a dangerous, but not an ignoble inheritance to be his daughter. (Jaffé, 1949)

Asking herself, 'What did I *get* from my father?' Ullmann considered:

> There is a warmth for which I am grateful [. . .] he *did* have bad manners and the other psychoanalysts did not want to tolerate that. He did go to extremes [. . .], on the one hand, I believe, it was very profound and creative, but it could be very destructive, too, in the wrong hands [. . .]. He cut off his own path. [However,] my father, as I have found out, has been passed over in silence by a certain category of [. . .] scientists. (In Heuer, 2002: 11)

When I mention Freud admonishing her father, 'We are physicians, and physicians we should remain' (in Gross, 1913b: 62), Ullmann considers, 'I think Freud saw his own limitations there. And my father saw that in *that* respect he was, again, the more creative one.' I refer to Freud's concern vis-à-vis Gross in terms of intellectual ownership. 'He steals!' *Frau* Ullmann exclaims:

> The creative person – Freud sensed that. On the one hand it gripped him, and on the other he was *afraid,* too. Partly, that was justified, because with my father that developed in such a way that he was no longer fit for good society. That was the time when he took morphine and every other stuff. [But] my father was just *very* curious and did everything very *thoroughly*, in a way which Freud and Jung did *not* want. They deemed themselves to be somehow too good for that, if I understand correctly [. . .]. But that is a dangerous path, of course, and I believe my father did not know the boundaries or was unable to hold them [. . .]. I do believe that he was wrongly blamed and that ideas were stolen from him, ideas he had creatively worked out.

> He has brought a lot of unrest into this century, and a lot of fertility, too, especially intellectually. – And somewhere, sometimes, I have a notion of that, [. . .] and I feel, 'you did not only burden my life but you gave me something very positive, too', the saying 'Yes' to life! – He must have had a *warmth* [. . .] and a purity, too [. . .]. Sometimes I say, 'My dear father, I have got that from you, that I can say *'Yes'* to life'. (In Heuer, 2002: 11)

Illness prevented Ullmann from attending the 1st International Otto Gross Congress in Berlin, although '*That does concern me very much!*' (1999), she had emphasized on the phone. Later that year, for the first time, she met her half-sister Sophie Templer-Kuh, who told me later, 'She took my hand and wouldn't let go of me any more. She sat on her sofa with me and just *didn't* let go of me anymore' (Templer-Kuh, 2003; see Figure 22). Camilla Ullmann died on 28 May 2000.

Born on 23 November 1916 in Vienna, **Sophie Templer-Kuh** (in Figure 22) is the daughter of Marianne Kuh, and Gross. In our first contact by telephone she worried about the 'murder story', that is, that her father was supposed to have killed Sophie Benz.

Initially, as Werfel described, Sophie briefly lived with her parents, was then given to foster parents in Denmark, before being reclaimed to live in Berlin with

FIGURE 22 Sophie Templer-Kuh and Camilla Ullmann. © Otto Gross Archive/ Gottfried M. Heuer, London. Photo: Maria Becker.

her mother and her new partner, the writer Alexander Solomoníca (1889–1942), and the two children they had had together in the meantime. In 1933, the family moved to Vienna. 'My stepfather felt that he had to exorcise Otto Gross from my mother [. . .]. I think he was simply jealous of my mother who had *had* Otto Gross' (in Heuer, 1997). Solomoníca was abusive to his step-daughter. She tried to commit suicide and was saved 'only in the nick of time' (in Goldeen, 1997). Not before the age of eighteen, did Sophie learn – to her great relief – that Solomoníca was not her actual father.

Following a brief stay in England, Templer Kuh worked in the Viennese household of the psychoanalyst Robert Wälder (1900–67). In 1936, on a weekend stroll with his family, she was introduced to Sigmund Freud and his daughter Anna (Templer-Kuh, 2003). Sophie Kuh moved to Innsbruck, where she was traumatized by having to witness some of the excesses of the so-called *Kristallnacht,* the German/Austrian nation-wide pogrom in 1938. Back in Berlin, as she was trying to leave Germany for England, she fell in love with John Graudenz (1884–1942), a photo-journalist. Reluctant to separate from him, she was urged by the British consulate to leave as soon as possible (Goldeen, 1997), which she did. Templer-Kuh learned only after the war that Graudenz had been active in the resistance group of the so-called *Rote Kapelle*. Due to negligence – or treason? – by the Soviets, the group had been betrayed; Graudenz was condemned to death and murdered.

In spring 1939, Marianne Kuh and her two other children were allowed to follow Kuh to England, forced to leave Solomoníca behind. He was murdered in the course of the Shoah. In London, Templer-Kuh served in the Auxiliary Territorial Services, and married in 1945. Her daughter Anita was born in 1946, her son Anthony in 1954.

Without any conscious memories of her father, Templer-Kuh has called her continuing rediscovery of him the beginning of 'a new life' (2002).

★ ★ ★

Some 35 years ago, Hurwitz concluded his study of Gross's life with these words, from 1929, of Gross's friend Mühsam:

> Social-minded people, since they live outside of traditional norms, have an educational impact with their lives. When today we can speak to non-revolutionaries about what happened in our groups, whilst they [. . .] thought of these as sulphurous hells, and when we can evoke with our tales not just a moral indignation, but a sympathetic understanding, then we shall have lived in an exemplary way, and we shall have demonstrated to the next generation that it is indeed possible to be both free *and* related, and thus we shall have prompted them to create conditions where freedom [. . .] [can be] the way of life of every human being. (Mühsam, 1961: 237)

7

ECHOES AND TRACES

The suppression of Otto Gross and 'the return of the repressed'

Tracing the process of Gross's *damnatio memoriae* and his gradual re-emergence, is, in writer Eleanor Catton's words, like applying one's own mortar to the cracks and chinks of earthly recollection, and to resurrect as new the edifice that, in solitary memory, exists only as ruin (2013: 44). However, earlier, another writer, Travis Holland, had expressed concern about the vulnerability and insubstantiality of our memories, since they flicker out one by one – a life cut loose from its own shrinking history. He suggested that we who remember *are* that history now (2004: 217–21).

According to testimonies of his time, Otto Gross was, 'a highly intelligent man' (Freud, 1907, in Freud and Jung, 1974: 69); an 'elf-king' (Jaffé, n.d.): 'Nothing compares to his kind of spirituality/intellectuality' (Jaffé, 1908/09); 'Prometheus' (Kalischer, 1917: 40); 'intellectual heir of the hotly debated Vienna psychoanalyst Freud' (Anon., 1920); 'so beautiful, like a white Dionysus, [. . .] far, far more brilliant than Freud' (Lawrence, 1984: 137); 'ingenious, psychoanalyst on the height of the barricades', 'sexual revolutionary' (Kuh, [1922] 1963: 22, 96–7); 'scientist of world-fame' (Pfemfert, 1923); 'theorist of amorous lust' (Werfel, 1990: 446); 'vampire' (Werfel in Kuh, 1963: 97); 'this cruel scatterbrain? He is the devil incarnate, a tumour on the body of society' (Szittya, 1926: 105); 'in service to a terrible vice, who seemed to carry on his shoulders all knowledge about the world and sin!' (Trautner, 1927: 38).

Others, who had never met him personally – 'tattling posterity, the biographer's best friend' (Malcolm, 2015: 62) – called Gross a 'seeker of paradise' (Hurwitz, 1979); 'a Timothy Leary of his time' (h.h.h., 1979); 'demon' (Kreiler, 1979); 'sexual delinquent' (Le Rider, 1995: 229); 'prophet of the fatherless society' (Brede, 1980); 'visionary and victim' (Kreiler, 1982); 'Lady Chatterley's true lover' (Weithmann, 1990); 'prophet of a New Age' (Green, 1992); 'devil underneath the couch' (Raulff, 1993); 'a proponent of sexual libertarianism and drugs, conducted orgies, and

FIGURE 23 Otto Gross, 2nd from left, ca. 1915. © Otto Gross Archive/Gottfried M. Heuer, London.

militantly promiscuous' (Holbrook, 1992: 26), who 'emphasized "polymorphous perversity" as a way to reform' (ibid.: 257); 'an original thinker' (Shengold, 1993: 114, n21); 'slave of liberation' (Freund, 1996); 'a noted German drug peddler, anarchist and criminal' (Grigg, 1998); 'new-age Messiah' (Green, 1998); 'an enthusiast for life-experiment' (Green 1999: xx); 'an inconvenient man' (Hirsh, 1999); 'the electrifying figure at the centre of the "erotic revolution"' (E. Wilson, 1999: 118); 'a catalyst to Jung & Freud and a better man than both of them!' (Anon., 1999); 'the Rimbaud of psychoanalysis' (Toynton, 2000); the 'lost sheep of the psychoanalytic movement' (Lüdemann, 2000); 'Expressionist between Nietzsche and Freud' (Stingelin, 2000); 'Satan's priest of sex' (Müller, 2000); 'Psychoanalyst, Bohemian, Free Love Guru, Pagan' (Ash, 2003); 'not a psycho-analyst, but a psycho-anarchist' (Heuer, 2003b: 30); 'a forgotten cultural revolutionary' (Böhle, 2005); 'alchemist of human nature' (Pietikäinen, 2007); 'Angel of Death' (Linsmayer, 2007); 'inventor of the Hippie-culture' (Löhr, 2008); 'charismatic and spellbinding [. . .] prophet of free love [. . .] sexual utopian' (Makari, 2008: 230–36); 'the first Hippie [. . .], bad boy of psychoanalysis' (Fläckman, 2010); 'lascivious' (Meier, 2011); 'debauched' (Anon, 2011); a 'wild psychiatrist [. . .] the devil on Jung's back, pushing him towards following his instincts' (Calhoun, 2011); 'a feral and charming emanation of pure id, an imp of the Freudian perverse' (Scott, 2011); 'Mephistophelian creature' (Schwartz, 2012); 'a charming anarchist' (Koch 2012); 'popstar among the renegades' (Breidecker, 2014); 'a sinister, fascinating, and finally repulsive character' (Hofmann, 2015: 44); 'paradise-seeker and hell-rider' (Anon., 2015).

This chapter surveys the reactions and echoes to Gross's life and work whilst he was alive, his disappearance due to *damnatio memoriae*, the gradual return of the repressed and his legacy.

It is just about possible today, still to survey the totality of the field of Gross studies in most media, print, audio and visual. The bibliography of important secondary literature comprises of some 2,500 titles in over twenty languages. However, this excludes the vast majority of Internet references to Gross, which have increased from just 67 in 1997, at the start of my research, to 8,420,000 (Google) in 2016. Of course, these include namesakes, noteworthy for breeding German shepherd dogs, or the surveying of sewers . . . . There is even a wine bearing his name, Liebfraumilch Otto Gross (Anon., 2012), and the Otto Gross-Haus, a leisure centre of the YMCA, near Ulm, Germany (CVJM, 2015) – *not* named after the subject of the present study.

It has been mainly socio-political, literary and art scholarship which initiated a gradual re-emergence of interest in Gross's life and work in the last forty years. Increasing socio- and literary-historical engagement with Max Weber and D.H. Lawrence has proved to be an important factor, as has a re-evaluation of Expressionism and the Dada movement. As far as psychoanalysis is concerned, if at all, researchers have engaged more with Gross's life than his impact on the development of analytic theory and clinical practice – in spite of the fact that from early on, there were/are psychoanalysts within the field of Gross studies. There are just three exceptions: in the early 1970s, the Berlin historian Hans Dieter Heilmann wrote a proposal for a never-realized PhD thesis where he considered the importance of

a number of Gross's psychoanalytic concepts for the evolution of psychoanalysis (1974). The Vienna psychiatrist and psychoanalyst Alfred Springer published a brief preliminary study of Gross's position in the history of psychoanalytic ideas (1987), and, as mentioned, Lacanian analyst Turnheim wrote of the continuing influence of Gross's psychiatric concepts (1993).

I. Contemporary Voices

Hans Gross had several of the early works of his son reviewed in the journal he founded and edited, by his colleague Paul Näcke (1851–1913; 1907, 1909). Advertisements for the published version of Otto Gross's doctoral thesis (1901) as well as his first book (1902a) were regularly placed on the inside front cover of this journal between 1902 and 1908 – underneath those advertising Hans Gross's works (Figure 24).

Otto Gross's psychiatric work was appreciatively noted by several of the most important psychiatrists of his time: Erwin Stransky (1877–1962) referred to him in 1904. In the same year, Edouard Claparède (1873–1940) reviewed Gross's *The Cerebral Secondary Function*. Wilhelm Weygandt (1870–1939) reviewed *On the Biology of the Speech Apparatus* a year later (1905), and referred to Gross's work on *Dementia praecox* in 1907. Emil Kraepelin's assistant Max Isserlin (1879–1941) reviewed *The Freudian Ideogenic Moment . . .* in 1907. The Dutch psychologist and philosopher Gerard Heymans (1857–1930) mentioned Gross repeatedly in his psychological (1910, 1927, 1932) and philosophical-ethical (1914) writings (see Strien and Feij, 1992), as did Karl Jaspers (1883–1969) in all editions of his *General Psychopathology* between 1913 and 1946.

As noted in Chapter 3, all the important psychoanalysts of the first generation referred to Gross, and/or reviewed his works. Regrettably, I have not been able to locate Stekel's estate, and there still exist thousands of unpublished letters by Freud, Jung and Reich, many of them as yet inaccessible – so more references are bound to come to light.

During his lifetime, Gross had appeared under his own (Blazek, 1912; F. Jung, 1915) and under a variety of other names in the works by his literary friends: Max Brod (1918), Franz Jung (1913, 1916), Franziska zu Reventlow (1976) and others.

II. From 1920 to the Millennium

Posthumously, Gross continued to appear in fiction (for example, Becher, 1946; Cendrars, 1979), as well as in memoirs, diaries and autobiographical texts, and published correspondence. Recent research has shown that it seems likely that Gross impressed Robert Musil (Heuer, 2003a: 12–13): Anselm, one of the main protagonists in Musil's 1921 play *The Dreamers* (1982) seems to have been partly inspired by Gross. This raises the question of how much of Gross's character may also have contributed to Musil's *The Man Without Qualities* (1997). Unaware of Gross's influence on both Musil and Lawrence, J.M. Coetzee claimed, 'In asserting

FIGURE 24 Advertisements, 1904, *Archiv für Kriminalanthropologie und Kriminalistik,* XVII: 3/4: 14

the sexual relation as the fundamental cultural relation, and in advocating a sexual revolution as the gateway to a new millennium, Musil is curiously reminiscent of his contemporary D.H. Lawrence' (1999: 53).

Just two years after Gross's death, Franz Werfel portrayed him in such a negative way onstage (Werfel, 1959), that their mutual friend Kafka sharply criticized him at the opening night in Prague, accusing Werfel of 'treason to the whole generation' (in Abels, 1990: 62). Kafka had experienced the play as a 'debasement of their sufferings' (in Anz, 1984: 184). Werfel left the ensuing argument in tears; 'Kafka, also in tears, murmured, "That something this horrible is possible"' (Abels, 1990: 62).

Yet, none of these texts broke the spell of Gross's *damnatio memoriae*: for nearly fifty years, an almost complete silence reigned concerning his life and work. Interest did not begin to stir until the mid-1960s with the work of the Kafka scholar Hans Binder, who unearthed important details about the relationship between Gross and Kafka (1966, 1976, 1979). Around the same time, Hurwitz discovered Jung's case-notes of his analysis of Gross in the Burghölzli archive. Just then, at the height of the German students' movement, the Berlin anarchist researcher Hansjörg Viesel and his friend Heilmann came across Gross's name in Carl Schmitt's 1922 *Political Theology*, and started their research in the hope to 'literally hit the startled society in the face with Otto Gross, with that grand gesture which is self-assured, that with just two books [a critical biography of Gross and his writings] everything could be turned upside down' (Viesel 1988: 5). Sadly, these plans remained unrealized. Ten years later, the two friends announced the publication of *Psychoanalysis. Pedagogics. Magic. Otto Gross* (1978), but their friendship foundered, and the fruits of their research remain inaccessibly locked away in Heilmann's Berlin basement.

However, suddenly, in the mid-1970s, there was an almost synchronistic spark of interest in Gross. Documentary evidence of his engaging with the founding fathers of psychoanalysis, and his impact on them, emerged for the first time with the publication of *The Freud/Jung Letters* (1974). In the same year, Martin Green published his groundbreaking account of the entangled relationships of Else and Frieda von Richthofen, Otto Gross, Max Weber and D.H. Lawrence (1974).

From 1977 onwards, literary scholar Thomas Anz presented the results of his research into literary expressionism, with numerous references to Gross (1977, 1978), a theme also considered by Weber scholar Arthur Mitzman in 'Anarchism, expressionism and psychoanalysis' (1977), published together with the first English translation of a text by Gross (1919b).

In 1978, Harald Szeeman curated a pivotal exhibition in Zurich, *Monte Verità, Ascona – The Mountain of Truth – The Breasts of Wisdom*, and edited a companion volume, subtitled *Local Anthropology as Contribution to the Rediscovery of a Modern, Sacral Topography*. The Vienna psychotherapist Josef Dvorak started with a series of articles on Gross (1978, 1982), considering the latter's relationship with Stekel (1985). He also discovered Gross's military record, and reviewed his 1901 doctoral thesis (Dvorak, 1979, 1983).

In 1979, Hurwitz published his study, still the basis of any serious engagement with Gross – regrettably never translated into English. It is worth mentioning that the author's father was Siegmund Hurwitz (1904–94), C.G. Jung's dentist, family friend, analysand, and later, Jungian analyst. In his son's engagement with Gross, highly critical of Jung, we may well detect an echo of Gross's rebellion against his father:

> In 1980, when Hurwitz gave a lecture on Gross to a group of (somewhat hostile) psychoanalysts, a meeting of youth in protest was held outside the hall, which ended in their taking off their clothes and running naked down the main street of Zurich. (Green, 1986: 155)

This psychoanalytic group was founded by C.G. Jung. Hurwitz recalled that he could not possibly have anticipated that

> Gross's world would come alive on the streets of Zurich, a world much more directly linked with the Munich Bohème, the Asconan Monte Verità-guests, the anarchist scenes in Vienna, Berlin, and Zurich, with the world of Dadaism, and the young, emerging psychoanalysis. But now it was there, the scene Otto Gross had moved in [. . .] directly next to [. . .] where the psychotherapists were meeting. (Hurwitz, 2000: 9)

These psychotherapists who had invited Hurwitz to present on Gross, criticized him for lack of objectivity, for having attacked Jung, and psychiatry in general, and for 'not having given a scientific presentation but a political credo' (ibid.: 12) – the very same words Max Weber had used some seventy years before in rejecting the text Gross had submitted for publication. The 1980 Zurich gathering ended in chaos and tumult, as Hurwitz heard from a friend who had witnessed

> a group of young people, demonstrating, all naked, thirty young men and women. Imagine! Right in the railway station! And that after your talk! I could not believe my eyes. It fitted so well with the evening, with your talk, with Otto Gross! Such a coincidence! [. . .] A nude-demonstration following the Grossian immoralism. What better to prove Jung's theory of synchronicity! (In Hurwitz, 2000: 13)

Fifty years earlier, Werfel had claimed that Gross had written a book about the Adamites (1990: 349), a medieval millennial sect whose members were often seen naked, as an illustration at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adamites shows, which might as easily refer to the experience of Hurwitz's friend. In 2007, a play featuring Gross was staged – performed by an all-naked male cast (Theater Rampe, ed., 2007).

Also in 1980, Kurt Kreiler used Franz Jung's 1921 title and his selection of Gross's writings – minus those from Jung's list I rediscovered only some 25 years later, then assumed lost (Gross, 2005, 2005a), which included Jung's introduction. Regrettably, however, Kreiler sadly omitted – unmarked – whole paragraphs from some of Gross's as well as Jung's writings.

Friederike Kamann presented an initial feminist perspective, 'The mediation between feminism and anarchism in the psychoanalytic theory of Otto Gross' (1981), a theme Christine Kanz picked up some twenty years later in 'Between sexual liberation and misogynist idealization of motherhood: the reception of psychoanalysis and gender-conceptualization' (2001). Kanz wondered whether Gross might be seen as a pioneer of gender studies (2002), a question Bozena Choluj also engaged with in linking Gross's ideas with those of Judith Butler (2003).

In 1983, Jennifer Michaels produced her comprehensive and authoritative account of *Otto Gross' Impact on German Expressionist Writers,* whilst Russell

Jacoby barely mentioned Gross in his study of political repression in the history of psychoanalysis (1983: 40–45, 68). A year later, Aldo Carotenuto presented his discoveries about Spielrein's abuse by Jung (1984) – although that is not what he called it. Instead, he rationalized Jung's behaviour and romanticized his transgression. Continuing Szeeman's earlier research, Green wrote about the beginning of the counterculture in Ascona (1986).

In 1987, Japanese Lawrence scholar Saburo Kuramochi wrote about the links between the writer and Gross, followed by a three-part biography of the latter (Kuramochi, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001). In the following year, French socio-historian Jacques le Rider edited the first collection of Gross's works in a foreign language, *Revolution Underneath the Couch* (Gross, 1988).

In Colorado, David Gordon Lucas completed his Master's thesis on the Gross–Landauer debate (1989), and, for the first time, Gross became the main protagonist of a play in Linard Bardill's *The Crack [or Leap] in the Dream*, which premiered in Zurich in 1989.

D.H. Lawrence scholar John Turner edited *The Otto Gross – Frieda Lawrence Correspondence* (Gross and Weekley, 1990). A year later, the cultural analyst Nicolaus Sombart saw Otto Gross as the personification of everything, really, that the traditionally conservative straight Wilhelminic German male abhorred: thus really appearing to be their 'true enemy' (Sombart, 1991).

In 1992, analyst Martin Stanton summarized the research on Gross to date in 'The case of Otto Gross. Jung, Stekel and the pathologization of protest' (1992). Sadly, Stanton's claim that Gross, 'A strikingly handsome man, was painted and sketched by many of his expressionist artist friends from the review groups [?] of *Der Blaue Reiter* and *Die Brücke*' (ibid.: 50), has as yet not been substantiated: no artistic portraits of Gross have come to light. A year later, Giusi Zanasi presented the first book-length study of Gross in Italian (1993). Andrew Samuels, in his highly influential *The Political Psyche* (see Chapter 8), stated, 'There is a line stretching from Otto Gross to Wilhelm Reich to Herbert Marcuse that has not considered itself bound by the tenets of rational discourse' (1993: 41).

Michael Raub considered Gross's life and work from an Adlerian perspective in 1994. In Lisa Appignanesi's *Dreams of Innocence*, 'a novel of grand scope, of Europe before the Great War' (1994: jacket cover), the artist Johannes Bahr, one of the main protagonists, was modelled on Gross. The second play featuring Gross, *Lady Frieda's Lover* (Moss, 1994), premiered at the Diamond Head Theatre in Honolulu, Hawai'i, and a filmed version was broadcast repeatedly over several months by a local television station. Brigitta Kubitschek published her authoritative biography of Franziska, Baroness zu Reventlow in 1994.

III. Exclusions, or 'There is a vacancy in history.'[1]

> Could it be that the best books are those that get no attention?
>
> *Sigmund Freud, 1907 (Freud and Jung, 1974: 69)*

A whole extra chapter could easily be written about the authors and editors that excluded Gross from their publications. What follows is not a random listing, but a small selection only of authors who have engaged with the subject of psychoanalysis and radical politics. Most certainly could – I am tempted to say should – have known better: Roazen criticized historians of psychoanalysis for having 'been known to avoid touching certain books that raise too many so-called controversial points' (Roazen, 2003: 55). This applies to many of the following authors – including Roazen himself. Others unwittingly, unquestioningly, or intentionally, continued a tradition of repression whose foundations had been laid before their time. In view of the fact that several of Gross's most important re-discoverers were English-speakers – for example, Green (1974) and Michaels (1983) – the argument, 'but Gross was not translated then!' hardly holds.

It is surprising that neither Karl Kraus nor Kurt Tucholsky (1890–1935), the two greatest German-speaking satirists and fighters for social causes contemporary with Gross, did not mention him, although it is highly likely that Kraus knew of him through his relationship with Mühsam. Tucholsky certainly was aware of Gross, yet referred to him only once, in 1928, indirectly and in passing, as 'the son of [Hans] Gross' (1985: 185).

In 1933, nearly all of the contemporary analysts' and authors' works mentioned in this study were included in the book burnings and/or banned by the Nazis. Gross's writings were not, because by then, he had already been made an unknown. Oskar Maria Graf (1894–1967), one of the erstwhile contributors to Gross's and Franz Jung's journal *Die freie Straße*, who had been able to escape, complained to the Nazis from New York, when he heard his books had been excluded – and was duly given a special burning of his works. No one did Gross a similar favour.

After the war, Gross was unknown to Alex Comfort, later known as the author of the popular *Joy of Sex*, who linked psychology and anarchism in *Barbarism and Sexual Freedom. Lectures on the Sociology of Sex from the Standpoint of Anarchism* (1948). Robert Lindner, who wrote a number of books on radical psychoanalysis in the 1940s and '50's – among them *Rebel without a Cause* (1944), *Prescription for Rebellion* (1959) and *Must You Conform?* (1961) – does not refer to Gross either. Lindner speaks of an 'Instinct of Rebellion' (1961: 121–45), which he regards in a Grossian manner as 'the vehicle of evolution' (ibid.: 142). Not a single member of the Frankfurt School, including Erich Fromm, ever mentioned Gross in their 'Critical Theory', not even Adorno in his 1950 *The Authoritarian Personality*. But they were always rather hesitant in their political engagement, as can be seen in their over-cautionary attitude towards both Reich and Benjamin. The *damnatio memoriae* of Gross proved so successful that, until Heilmann and Viesel's rediscovery, he remained unknown in the course of the German students' movement of the 1960s, unlike Reich, whose writings – at least those until 1933 – became very popular and were widely distributed as pirate editions (Heuer, 1977).

Neither of the 'anti-psychiatrists' – Cooper or Laing – referred to Gross, and he was not mentioned at the 1967 *Dialectics of Liberation Congress* (Cooper, ed., 1968) in London – in spite of Gross's later having been called 'Germany's first anti-psychiatrist'

(Nitzschke, 1979). Roazen overlooked Gross in *Freud. Political and Social Thought* (1968), as did Robinson (1972), Brown, author of *Towards a Marxist Psychology* (1974), the Radical Therapist Collective in *Therapy Means Change Not Adjustment* (1974), Peter Sedgwick in *Psychopolitics* (1982), Rolando Perez in *On An(archy) and Schizoanalysis* (1990), Victor Wolfenstein in *Psychoanalytic-Marxism* (1993), and Roazen in *Political Theory and the Psychology of the Unconscious* (2000), although this last-mentioned title almost echoes Gross's 1913 statement about the psychology of the unconscious being the philosophy of the revolution (1913d: 78). Only in 2003, in the final pages of one of his last books, in a chapter called 'Winners and losers', Roazen bemoans the fact that 'There is still almost as little literature about Wilhelm Stekel as about Otto Gross' (2003: 195), but neither in this nor in any other of his works did he do anything to remedy this.

Before Deirdre Bair (2003; see below), Paul Stern was the only one of Jung's numerous biographers to at least briefly mention Gross (1976: 89–90, 102). The journal *Psychoanalysis and History* rejected accounts of the early international Gross Congresses submitted for publication on the grounds that 'it would not be of sufficient interest to our readers' (Sabbadini, 2000): in the area of traditional psychoanalytic historical research, the *damnatio memoriae* largely continues. A reviewer of Cronenberg's 2011 movie *A Dangerous Method,* persistently wrote of Otto Rank instead of Otto Gross, not in some broadsheet or society magazine, but in the journal of no less than the British Psychoanalytic Council (Diski, 2012). As if in the Gulag of those damned to oblivion – as Rank was, too – one Otto is like any other: in that netherworld, shadow-figures seem to have become indistinguishable.

IV. Continuing echoes

After the founding of the International Otto Gross Society in 1998, I established the Otto Gross Archive, in London: with well over 3,000 original documents, photos, texts, Internet documents, video and audio recordings, it is worldwide the largest collection of material relating to Otto Gross. A detailed chronology of his biographical data is available online (Dehmlow, 2009ff). In the chaotic course of Gross's life, many documents have been lost. For any information about new discoveries in this field, as well as bibliographical information about new publications concerning Gross in any medium, please be so kind as to contact me at gottfried.heuer@virgin.net.

In 1999, one of Hermann Müller's particularly important discoveries was the relationship between Gross and the Hungarian writer Emil Szittya (Müller, 2000), documented in a number of the latter's mostly unpublished texts. Although at times deteriorating to mere ranting, these constitute nevertheless important pieces of the multi-faceted puzzle that is Gross. In the same year, Martin Green presented his book on *Gross, Freudian Psychoanalyst* (1999), and for the first time in over fifty years, Gross was mentioned in a brief text in *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis* (Heuer, 1999).

The activities of the Society have centred on a series of international congresses and symposia in, among other places, Berlin, Zurich, Munich, Graz, Vienna,

Dresden and London. At one of these, in 2003, the *Werkraumtheater*, Graz, staged the third play about Gross (Blauensteiner, 2005) – in which father and son Gross were played by the same actor – as part of the exhibition *The Laws of the Fathers: Otto and Hans Gross, Sigmund Freud and Franz Kafka* at the *Stadtmuseum*, Graz, curated by Gerhard Dienes and Ralf Rother (2003). Subsequently, this exhibition travelled to Rijeka, Croatia, (Dienes et al., eds, 2007), and to London (Heuer, ed., 2011). In Graz, the artist Wolfgang Buchner showed an exhibition, *Undercurrents of Consciousness* (2003), linking Gross's early psychophysiological and psychiatric work on energy flows along nervous pathways with the avant-garde of the Vienna Secession, to which Gross himself had referred (Gross 1902a: 68), as well as with current artistic endeavours.

These conferences attracted all the important Gross scholars worldwide, and have provided a forum for leading-edge research in the field. Participants have come from most European countries, several US states, South America, Australia and Japan. All proceedings have been published, comprising a total of over 5,000 pages (see the Bibliography).

Individual contributions are, of course, too numerous to list, and most of those especially relevant to the present study have already been mentioned. In addition, the following are particularly noteworthy: Daniel Burston considered the relationship between Gross and R.D. Laing (2004); lawyer and law historian Götz von Olenhusen engaged with the legal entanglements between Gross and his father (2002; ed., 2003; 2005); Lawrence scholar John Turner presented Gross's influence on the writer's work (2011); literature professor Erdmute White (2002) explored the link between Gross's fate and the expressionist film *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*, set in a psychiatric clinic, where the distinctions between doctor and patient become blurred, their roles reversing. White gave her presentation at the Gross Congress at the Burghölzli, which included a showing of the film, in a silent version, late at night, with the only sounds to be heard an occasional scream from a current patient of the clinic.

The new millennium saw the re-publication of the 1980 collection of Gross's texts (Gross, 2000), without correcting its omissions. Cheekily, one review was titled, 'We do not want to remain doctors' (Azoulay, 2001). In 2003, a Spanish translation of a selection of Gross's writings was brought out (Gross 2003), while in 2009, Madison edited most of Gross's works (Gross, 2009), and later also presented a first translation of a collection of his works in English (Gross, 2012). Unfortunately, in her editions, occasional passages, unmarked, are omitted from the texts (Gross, 1913d: 80). Le Rider re-published his 1988 selection of Gross's works with a considerably extended introduction (Gross, 2011): at present, more of Gross's works are available in print than at any time before.

In 2002, literary scholar Christina Jung presented a critical account of the 1913/14 press campaign to free Gross, including all known articles that had been published internationally (Jung and Anz, eds, 2002). In the same year, Gross came onstage at the National Theatre, London, as one of the protagonists of Christopher Hampton's play *The Talking Cure* (2002). In a strange twist of fate,

after the sudden death of the actor who originally played Freud, both Freud's and Gross's roles were played by the same actor. Later, Hampton adapted his play for the screen as *A Dangerous Method* (Cronenberg, 2011), in which Gross was only given a minor role – 'for comic relief' (Heuer, 2012: 262).

Kristina Kargl completed her important biography of Regina Ullmann in 2003, and this was followed in 2007 by the Swiss writer's Eveline Hasler's novel about Regina Ullmann and her relationship with Gross, *Stone Means Love*.

The year 2004 saw the publication of Deirdre Bair's excellent biography of Jung, the first to give adequate space to his relationship with Gross, by devoting nearly a whole chapter to it (2004: 135–44). At closer look, however, the chapter in question turns out to be a continuation of 'the pathologization of protest' (Stanton 1992; Leitner, 1999): Bair describes Gross almost exclusively as Jung's patient, concentrating on his pathology, and meticulously listing his various stays in mental institutions, even adding, undocumented, a third stay at the Burghölzli in 1904 (Bair, 2004: 136). The political dimension of Gross's work and his contributions to psychoanalytic theory and clinical practice are dismissively summarized: 'By 1907, his published articles and books showed his penchant for political, cultural and sexual revolution and a flamboyant advocation of sex, drugs and anarchy' (ibid.). In fact, none of these 'penchants' listed had even been touched upon in Gross's predominantly psychiatric writings up to 1907. Out of a total of some forty known texts by Gross, just three are cited. Bair does give a fair description, though, of Jung's using a damning diagnosis to get back at Gross for what Jung seems to have perceived as a 'betrayal' (ibid.: 143).

Julia Kopa asked in an article, 'Otto Gross –? Should one know him? I think one should' (2004). Gross father and son played a role in one of a series of mystery novels by the Flemish writer Mieke de Loof, *Devil's Victim* (2004). In France, Jérôme Grosse, who regards himself as a sixth-degree cousin of Otto Gross, co-edited with Joseph François Gross, *The Doctor of Law, Hanns Gross, and his son Otto Gross, Psychoanalyst* (2005), using numerous texts edited by the International Otto Gross Society in French translation.

In 2005, to the 5th International Otto Gross Congress in Zurich – held at the *cabaret voltaire*, Spiegelgasse, where nearly a hundred years earlier Dada was born, and for its founders 'the navel of the world' – a congress-presenter brought a handful of photocopies from the Österreichisches Literaturarchiv, Vienna. The originals had endured a veritable odyssey: containing part of Anton Kuh's estate, they had been found in a box in a village near Sydney, Australia, and were copies of papers and manuscripts long thought lost. Kuh had been forced to leave these behind as he just managed to flee Austria in 1938, after surveillance and threats of arrest and abduction by the Nazis. Friends of his had survived the Nazi years and moved to Australia after the Second World War. Following their deaths, friends handed the box over to the Austrian Embassy in Sydney, from where it reached the Vienna archive. Ten typewritten pages seemed to be the manuscript of Gross's text on the symbolism of paradise (1919a), as the first page bore that title. But that known text broke off after only three pages: the remaining ones, in the same typewritten

style and format, were no longer part of the 1919 text: untitled, and in some 1,500 words, the text envisioned 'The reconstruction of the individual faithful to the truth' (Gross, 2006) – I had discovered a further late text by Gross!

At the Zurich Congress, law historian Gernot Kocher presented the earliest known letter by Gross – to his uncle at the age of ten – as well as photos of the house where Gross was born (2006: 200–202, 190). Simultaneously, 'Gross' appeared off-off Broadway in New York in a production of John Carter's play about Freud, Jung and Spielrein, *Where Three Roads Meet* (2005). Curtis Nielsen, who played Gross, uncannily looked like him, he '*was* Otto Gross, [. . .] the man dancing close to the abyss, and he created that very abyss [. . .] of being prepared to break the law', Carter commented (2006). French psychoanalyst Tobie Nathan published his novel, *My Patient Sigmund Freud* (2006), a page-turner of a mystery novel concerning the hunt across contemporary Africa to Europe for Gross's case-notes of his analysis of Sigmund Freud, who entrusted Gross, his most highly appreciated pupil and follower with this delicate task – one of the best psychoanalytic novels I have read. The Hungarian scholar Melinda Friedrich introduced Gross to Hungarian readers (2006, 2007), and, in 2007, founded a sister organization of the International Otto Gross Society, the Hungarian Otto Gross Society.

In 2008, Sandra Löhr completed her documentary film about Sophie Templer-Kuh, *The Father-Seeker*, broadcast on German television. Gross and Reich were linked by the analyst Alain Amar in his *Gross and Reich. Essay Against the Castration of Thought* (2008). A year later, Gross received appreciative recognition with a four-page entry in the *Biographical Dictionary of Sexual Research* (2009: 244–8), co-edited by the renowned German sex scholar Volkmar Sigusch, called by *Der Spiegel*, 'one of the main theorists behind the sexual revolution of the late 1960s' (Hüetlin and Voigt, 2011). Sigusch states, 'Gross's rediscovery occurred thanks to the International Otto Gross Society, founded in 1999' (Sigusch and Grau, 2009: 247).

Mountains of Utopia, a German play which premiered in 2010, and in which Gross played a role, demonstrated important connections between the counter-cultural movement centred on the Monte Verità and the artists' community of Worpswede, northern Germany (Falkenstein and Arnold, 2010). With *Psiche, Eros, Utopia*, Michelantonio Lo Russo (2011) published the second book-length study of Gross in Italian.

In 2014, the Swedish documentary *Freakout!* (Javer, 2014), on the history and continuing importance of Ascona – and Gross's role in it – was shown on German/French television. As the title suggests, the approach lacked seriousness, but the film does show important links between Ascona and the early Beatniks and their influence on the 1960s youth movement in California.

In Eberhard Demm's 2014 biography of Else Jaffé-von Richthofen, the author vacillates to such a degree between misogynist scorn and contempt that the question arises whether he might actually have felt threatened by Jaffé's unconventional and independent lifestyle of a hundred years ago. Although he allows that 'It is a

risk for a man to write the biography of a woman' (2014: 2), he groups Gross's lovers of around 1907 – Jaffé being one of them – into a 'Harem of psychotics' (ibid.: 56), and presents his research devoid of any sympathy for his subject. In describing, for example, Jaffé's despair following the sudden death of her – and Gross's – son at the age of five, he callously generalizes, 'Other women in their grief react even more extremely and kill themselves' (ibid.: 135). Demm mentions predecessors in his field of study only in passing, Green (1974), and Sombart (1991), and dismissively (Demm, 2014: 72), although their achievements not only dwarf his, but are also more in touch with current sensibilities and attitudes, in spite of dating back several decades.

In stark contrast to Demm's biography stands another book-length study in which Jaffé also plays a central role: *Frieda Gross and Her Letters to Else Jaffé. A Turbulent Life in the Vicinity of Anarchism, Psychoanalysis and Bohème* (2014), Esther Bertschinger-Joos's crowning conclusion of her research. Initially, the author's engagement revolutionized the predominantly male-dominated field of Gross studies by focusing on Gross's wife and how her husband's ideas and lifestyle often traumatically affected the woman actually closest to his 'revolutionary for matriarchy'. Combining deep empathy and sensitivity with historiographical rigour, and basing her findings on a wealth of documents, Bertschinger-Joos presents the feminine perspective on Gross's life and work. In the same year, with Richard Butz, she co-authored their authoritative study of *Ernst Frick. Anarchist, Artist, Explorer* (2014).

Without doubt one of the most important and creative recent engagements with Gross's work is the critical psychologist and sociologist Babak Fozooni's, 'Sexual dysfunction(s) in Iran: Imaginary encounters with Otto Gross and Wilhelm Reich' (2014). To give a flavour of the paper's scope, the author's abstract deserves to be quoted in full:

> The article has two distinct but related aims. In the first part, I draw on previous research on Iranian sexual therapy, transgender studies, queer theory, psychoanalytic research and sexual economy to construct two clients. The first client is the subject of a Grossian, the second a Reichian analysis. The symptoms were chosen to bring out the salient features of Gross's and Reich's work, and to convey something of the complex psychological conflicts experienced by contemporary Iranians. In the second part of the article, I critique the limitations of Gross and Reich, while retaining those elements of their work still relevant to sexual emancipation. (2014: 80)

Fozooni continues, 'I have chosen [. . .] Gross [. . .] and [. . .] Reich [. . .] to demonstrate how both these rather underutilized analysts can be mined for therapeutic ideas helpful to subjectivities traumatized by authoritarian states' (ibid.). Living in patriarchal societies, this really applies to all of us to varying degrees. In addition, in choosing Iran, Fozooni is building a bridge between East and West that is currently of utmost importance:

> My research is also nourished by the recent eruption of political energy in the Middle East [. . .]. A profusion of Marxist, anarchist, feminist and gay websites have attempted to investigate and, where appropriate, politicize emergent sexual subjectivities in the hope of imbuing the next wave of social struggles with a more potent sexual imperative. (Ibid.: 81)

Fozooni is also the first to use the term 'neo-Grossian' (ibid.: 92), and concludes:

> It is to my mind undeniably true that, at the height of their intellectual power, the Marxist Reich and the Anarchist Gross displayed psycho-sexual wisdom outshining most bourgeois therapists today. [. . . T]herapy requires political advocacy by therapists intellectually equipped with the best that critical therapy has to offer as well as the defiant spirit of figures such as Otto Gross. (Ibid.: 92–3)

The year 2015 saw the publication of the proceedings of the 8th International Otto Gross Congress in Graz, *Hans Gross & Otto Gross: Libido and Power. Psychoanalysis and Criminology* (Bachhiesl et al., eds: 2015) – no longer *Gross vs. Gross* (Dienes et al., eds: 2005), the title of a symposium some years earlier, but now, in a sense, thematizing a posthumous reconciliation of father and son in the trans-historical perspective of a symbolic dimension.

In the spring of 2015, after efforts lasting over more than seven months, the *Clinica psichiatrica cantonale* of Mendrisio, Ticino, released the case-notes of Gross's treatment there in March 1911. Only mentioned in passing in Hurwitz (1979), for the first time, a full evaluation is presented in the Appendix.

Early in the following year, the Spanish writer José Morella published his novel, *Like Roads in the Fog. The Tumultuous Days of Otto Gross* (2016), based on solid research, and the International Otto Gross Society opened its new website, http://ottogross.org/deutsch/Gesellschaft/Gesellschaft.html (2016).

Note

1 Bennett, 2004: 11.

8

CONCLUSION

> The dead have but one resort: the living. Our thoughts are their only access to the light of day. They who have taught us so much, who seem to have bowed out for our sake and forfeited to us their advantages, ought by all rights to be reverently summoned to our memories and invited to drink a draught of life through our work.
>
> *Paul Valéry (in Bayard, 2007: 21)*

This study's central focus has been a redemptive undertaking to clarify the impact Otto Gross had on the development of psychoanalytic theory and clinical practice, particularly in terms of his linking of psychoanalysis with revolutionary politics. This has informed clinical practice in terms of mutual relationality, the concept of the identity of the political and the personal, and the inclusion of ethical and sacral dimensions. From this perspective, Gross's pivotal position emerges. Clearly, some of his ideas continue to be seen as controversial and challenging, even to contemporary leading-edge discourse. In this, his work reaches well beyond the postmodern in anticipation of an as yet unrealized future.

For my study, I have introduced an intersubjective psychoanalytic methodology, termed 'trans-historical research', which approaches the past with the therapeutic intention 'to heal wounded history' and thus to create an improved future. Interlinking method and content, I have used a number of core concepts Gross was the first to apply to psychoanalytic and political work:

- assuming an identity of the individually personal and the collective political in understanding psychoanalysis and historiography as parallel endeavours;
- applying the principle of mutuality in my perspective on the relationship between researcher and subject;
- defining mutuality as a non-hierarchical relationship between equals;
- including a sacral dimension as well as an ethical one.

My research thus constitutes an ongoing development of Gross's central concerns. I have connected 'the duty that we have towards history' – that is, 'to rewrite it' (Wilde, 1891) – with the empathic intersubjective relating Gross conceptualized on the basis of Kropotkin's 'mutual help'. Levinas's more recent understanding of a responsibility towards the other, inherent in any encounter, which includes the dimension of the holy, brings this into even clearer focus.

⋆ ⋆ ⋆

To summarize: I have shown how Otto Gross's psychoanalytic and political concepts were rooted in traumatic deprivation from the very beginning of his life. The attitude of his parents, which even a hundred years ago gave reason for concern (see Pellech, Ch. 6, in Bertschinger-Joos, 2014: 243), would be seen as abusive from the perspective of today's sensibility. When Gross, with an empathy unknown in his day, wrote of the traumatic utter loneliness of the child in its early family context, he spoke from his own experience. This enabled him to anticipate and thus to influence later developments of relational, intersubjective and attachment perspectives. In his theories, Gross can be seen as remaining emotionally connected with his personal early trauma. This made it possible for him to reach beyond Freud's and Adler's mere observations of neurotic behaviour patterns and trace them to their emotional-psychological origins. He thus arrived at a teleological understanding of the underlying purpose of the striving for power, and its expressions in destructive sadomasochistic enactments, and was able to understand these as distorted expressions of a longing to love and be loved. A good decade before Reich, Gross refuted the so-called 'death instinct' before the term even existed.

Like Freud and Adler, Gross understood individual neurotic behaviour as being embedded in a social context. Yet, unlike the former, and inspired by his anarchist friends, Gross took the step from theory to practice and became a political activist – as Reich would later. Mühsam and particularly Nohl also contributed to giving Gross's engagement with religion a revolutionary direction leading to a sacralization of both his psychoanalytic as well as political work.

Desiderata

Questions never end, and hence neither does research: 'To conclude is not in the nature of the enterprise' (Robinson, 2006: 173). Historian Jeffrey Kripal called the concluding chapter of his history of Esalen,'(In)conclusion: The Future of the Past' (2007: 449). Certainly, *much* is left to be desired: foremost a translation into English of all of Gross's texts, to make his complete works available to a wider public. John Turner, editor of the *Otto Gross/Frieda Weekley Correspondence* (1990) has succeeded in a first draft of all of Gross's writings, but we need help with the fine-tuning – preferably from someone bi-lingual, whose first language is German (anyone interested please contact me at gottfried.heuer@virgin.net).

Missing is the book-length manuscript of Gross's text on a new ethics, his writings on the sadism of an investigative judge, and the Astarte-novel which Franz Jung mentioned, as well as his letters to his mother and his lover Mizzi Kuh, the latter glimpsed just once by their daughter Sophie, when she was a teenager. In a 1977 interview, Cläre Jung (1892–1981) said that Franz Jung, her former husband, received Gross's estate from Nina Kuh (in Mierau, 1977). I have already mentioned still inaccessible letters by Freud and C.G. Jung – did the latter also leave personal case-notes and/or diaries? There is bound to be material concerning Gross in Wilhelm Stekel's estate, yet the whereabouts of this estate are unknown, even its existence uncertain. The same applies to the bulk of the estates of the parents Hans and Adele Gross. According to a court document, the French leftist daily newspaper *L'intransigeant*, now available online, reported on the Gross case in January 1914 in an as yet undiscovered text. Although in the course of initial research in the Reich Archive at the Orgonon near Rangeley, Maine – opened in 2007 – no trace or mention of Gross has been found (Peglau, 2014), thorough research is still outstanding.

Does the death mask of Gross which Werfel wrote about so rapturously (1990: 580) still exist – if it ever did – or was its description the author's 'poetic licence'? According to unconfirmed rumours, a wealthy industrialist and supporter of Gross made a cemetery-plot he owned available to him. As Gross's death certificate lists his religion as 'mosaic' — that is, of Jewish faith — he may well have been 'so-to-speak accidentally' (Hurwitz: 1979: 306) buried in a Jewish cemetery. In 1920, Berlin had six Jewish cemeteries, none of which survived the Shoah and the ravages of the Second World War unscathed. In spite of extensive research on the remaining four Jewish cemeteries in Berlin and their registers, the site of Gross's grave has not been discovered.

Themes of future studies and research might engage with the influence of Hans Gross's *Criminal Psychology* (1898) on the psychiatric and psychoanalytical work of his son. An appreciation of Hans Gross's 'life and work' strikingly states that he 'applied a holistic approach to the human being as a psycho-physical entity, thus anticipating today's conception according to which body and soul as two sides of a meaningful whole cannot be separated' (Seelig, 1944: 115). Nietzsche's influence on Gross's work, and the influence of Gross on Stekels voluminous work has not been sufficiently explored. The relationship between Gross and Vittorio Benussi, whose scientific estate is kept at the *Instituto di Psicologia* of the *Università Statale*, Milan, is also under-researched. Mere days before the manuscript of the present study was to go to press, Helmuth Huber, in Graz, presented his detailed and authoritative account of Benussi's work at and his importance for the Graz Psychological Laboratory around the previous turn of the century (2015). Fruitful inquiry could also focus on common themes in the works of Gross and Michel Foucault, who conceived 'of his writings as a "toolbox" to be utilized by those [. . .] opposing various tyrannies [. . .] [and] struggling for social and political transformation (Gutting, 2005: 2, 6), just as Gross had seen his own as 'p r e p a r a t o r y work [. . .] for the revolution' (1913d: 78). Choluj has

touched upon concerns common to Foucault and Gross (2000: 130), as well as links between Gross and Judith Butler (ibid.). These latter ones would also connect with the current new wave of feminism (for example, Bates, 2014, et al.) . . . to indicate just a few potential subjects and directions.

And today? Have there been developments concerning Gross's core ideas of linking individual with collective/political change, his emphasis on a dialectic relating as equals, and the sacralization of both psychoanalysis and radical politics, with or without an awareness of his pioneering work? I have mentioned lines of influence between Ascona and the countercultural movements, especially in California, beginning in the 1950s and '60s, one centre of which was Esalen, Big Sur, fondly praised as *The Upstart Spring*, where:

> All the events that have flashed through the public consciousness in those years – rock bands, psychedelics, teach-ins and peace marches [. . .] the liberation movements [. . .] and definitely the human potential movement – are part of what may well be the most far-reaching give-and-take about basic issues of human existence that any society has ever engaged in. (Anderson, 1983: 324)

A key figure in these developments was Wilhelm Reich, albeit unwillingly, because, late in life, he was too deeply disappointed about politics. In terms of the linking of the personal with the political, and the spiritual – initially Grossian concepts, albeit unacknowledged – formed a large part of the basis of the 'human potential movement': in 1959, Norman O. Brown stated, 'The link between the theory of neurosis and the theory of history is the theory of religion [. . .]. Psychoanalysis is equipped to study the mystery of the human heart, and must recognize religion to be the heart of the mystery' (1959: 12–13).

The direct personal link was Fritz Perls, influenced by Gross, a former patient of Reich's, and for years the therapeutic guru-in-residence at Esalen. Sadly, his work there included extensive patient-abuse.

In passing, I have also mentioned the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission of the mid-1990s as possibly the best example of a realization of Gross's vision of a dialectically redemptive enhancing of the personal, the political and the sacred in a nationwide, sustained collective effort. Although at the same time, in 1995, at the Congress of the International Association of Analytical Psychology in Zurich, the war raging a mere one hundred miles away in the former Yugoslavia was left unmentioned, an important effort at healing wounded history was made with a timely public regret for the quota, in place until the 1950s, concerning Jewish membership of the Analytical Psychology Club in Zurich. As if inspired by Grossian ideas, a concern for apology and asking for forgiveness generally seems to be growing within western culture. I am thinking here of the kneeling of the then German Chancellor Willy Brandt in 1970 at the memorial of the infamous Warsaw ghetto, and, early in 2008, the public apology of Australian Prime Minister Kevin Rudd to the Aborigines for the injustice and violence of the

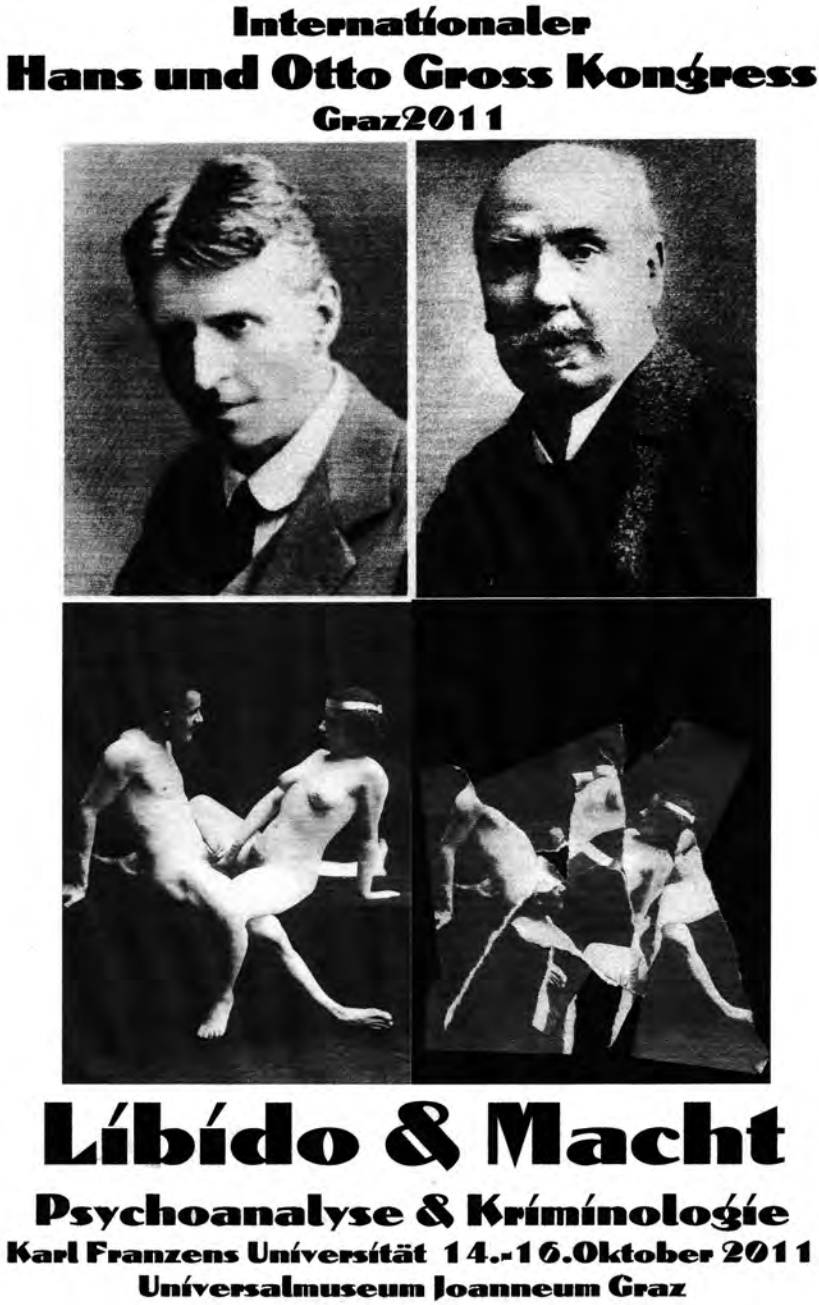

FIGURE 25 'Libido & Power. Otto Gross & Hans Gross. Psychoanalysis and Criminology', 8th International Otto Gross Congress, Graz, 2011 – conference programme cover. Design: Gottfried M. Heuer. © Otto Gross Archive / Gottfried M. Heuer, London.

past three centuries. In the same year, Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper publicly apologized to the country's First Nation and Inuit peoples for forced assimilation in the past. Although, of course, in all the countries mentioned, much work remains to be done, these are important turning points, signalling a willingness to relate – and to heal.

In 1995, in the wake of Samuels's *Political Psyche* (1993), the group Psychotherapists and Counsellors for Social Responsibility was founded in London, and continues today, publishing *Transformations*, its newsletter, as well as the journal *Psychotherapy and Politics International*. In 2013, the group held a conference on the interrelationship between the politics of clinical work and activism (see Heuer, 2014). The ten congresses and symposia of the International Otto Gross Society have already been mentioned (for example, Figure 25). Engagement with politics has blossomed in the Jungian world: the Cape Town congress of the International Association of Analytical Psychology in 2007 was permeated by the South African achievement of a peaceful change from apartheid. For the following 2010 congress in Montreal, South African analyst Astrid Berg succeeded in inviting an Israeli speaker, Tristan Troudart, and a Palestinian, Tawfiq Salman, for consecutive presentations. The issue of genocide was also raised in Montreal by the predominantly white audience in discussion with First Nation shamans; movingly, one of the latter, Richard Atleo, responded to the issue of this massive collective trauma with, 'In my culture, we do not look back. We *need* mistakes, because – how else are we to learn?' In December 2014, the International Association of Jungian Studies, together with the IAAP, held a first congress in London, 'Analysis and Activism: Social and Political Contributions of Jungian Psychology'. A second congress on the same theme was planned for December 2015 in Rome. In June 2015, Liverpool Hope University, hosted a conference, 'Psychopolitics in the 21st Century', organized by a number of social work and psychiatric associations and journals (Gadsby, 2015).

With regard to Gross's legacy in the clinical realm – for him, an aspect of the political – I have mentioned the 'relational turn', the 'intersubjective revolution', initially proposed and practiced by Gross: leading-edge clinical considerations have become unthinkable without taking relationality into account, as well as the socio-political environment. Samuels observes that 'More therapists than ever before want to realize the social and political potential of our profession' (2015: 31); 'engagement in political activity and processes of personal growth and development are seen increasingly as the same thing' (ibid.: 5). The 'two-person-psychology' initiated by Gross has developed into what has come to be called a 'two-person-plus' approach to include not only political but also environmental issues and to link these individual psychological concerns, as Reich first did (Heuer, 2014a: 143–3). Jungian Jerome Bernstein stated, 'I see the ongoing evolutionary shift of the Western psyche's reconnection with nature and along with it the reintroduction of the principle of reciprocity as a psychological shift that is indispensable to the survival of our species' (2011: 50). Almost thirty years earlier, psychotherapist Gerard Jampolsky explained:

> **All minds are joined**. *Therefore, all healing is self-healing.* [. . .] WE CAN ONLY HELP AN EQUAL. [. . .] We resolve beforehand that we will scan the other person for signs of love, gentleness and peace, and that the only information we will retain in our mind is that which will permit us to continue looking at this person kindly. In other words, we seek only their innocence, not their guilt. We look at them with our heart. (1983: 34–7)

Corresponding to Jampolsky's conceptualization of 'attitudinal healing' (ibid.), and chiming with what the Boston Change Process Study Group has called 'moments of meeting' (2010), my friend and colleague Isaac Pizer professes:

> I believe for truly radical change there must be a spiritual holding and appreciation of our ultimate oneness and unity. Without that holding, there is splitting and projection of the good and bad and so, continuing violence to our collective soul. [. . .] There is much written about the importance of the relationship in therapy, but I believe it can merely provide helpful conditions for the opening to grace, which comes through as healing and unfoldment, within us. (2015)

At present, these developments peak with Birgit Heuer's 2015 PhD thesis, *Towards Sanatology: A Clinical Paradigm of Health and Healing in the Context of Quantum Research and Mysticism*. Gracefully, Heuer combines a critical, political effort with a synthetic transpersonal perspective. She elaborates an epistemological dimension – clinical paradigm – which, according to her research, contains socio-political, ontological and religious views that tacitly precondition clinical practice. They have a direct bearing on the relational atmosphere in the consulting room, as well as underlying professional politics. Heuer explains the normative function of such implicit beliefs and her critical analysis of this is profoundly political in the Grossian tradition. She shows that disagreements between clinicians often have a paradigmatic basis and are about implicit norms being queried, rather than the clinical issue at hand. Indeed, in Heuer's terms, Gross's professional fate can be understood as motivated by a psychoanalytic cultural complex, informed by the normativity of his time. In addition to this political analysis, Heuer explores the idea of healing in a transpersonal context which she explicates via quantum physics. This she translates into analytic practice, offering a clinical account of the sacral intentions of Gross's project. Moreover, she introduces 'soft argument', a quality evidenced in Gerda Boyesen's body-psychotherapeutic and Ruth Meyer's historical approach. Informed by this quality, in Heuer's work, the dialectic Grossian strands of the personal and the political converge.

In accordance with Gross's 'The coming revolution is the revolution for matriarchy' (1913d: 80), these clinical and political developments may be linked to what has traditionally been seen as feminine values, expressed more recently as 'the future of the world depends on the full restoration of the Sacred: its tenderness, passion, divine ferocity, and surrendered persistence' (Harvey, in Pinkola Estés,

2011: 01). In this sense, these developments also realize Gross's important tenet of 'the highest goal of every revolution' as replacing the will to power with the will to relating (1919c: 355). Yet, during his lifetime, Gross remained deadlocked in a generational power-struggle with his father: 'My whole life was aimed at toppling authority, e.g. of the father; for me, only matriarchy exists' (in Berze and Stelzer, 1913: 31). However, if we understand what he perceived as this 'highest goal of every revolution' simultaneously as his definition of a revolutionary, we discover an important correspondence between father and son. From today's perspective, Hans Gross emerges as much a revolutionary in his own field of work, as his son in his: in the hundred years before Otto Gross was born, the extortion of confessions from criminal suspects had become illegal in Austria. The legal system needed to rely on forensic evidence instead. Hans Gross made groundbreaking contributions to this by developing forensic investigation into a science. With forensics, his achievement constitutes an enormous step away from the use of legalized violence towards treating criminal suspects in a more humane way by replacing the use of power with evidential relating. Father and son thus shared important commonalities, which tragically they were never able to mutually appreciate. Yet, buried by their respective bitterness and anger, we may assume deep hurt, pain – and longings which had to remain unfulfilled: *both* died broken-hearted. In terms of my trans-historical approach, considering this today may hopefully have a retroactive redemptive effect on either in their conflict. Healing history here means contributing to the creation of 'The holiest of all spots on earth [. . .] where an ancient hatred has become a present love' (Schucman and Thetford, 1999: 562).

A deeper purpose of my endeavour, to help release Otto Gross from the trauma of *damnatio memoriae*, received a final emphasis towards the very end of writing the present study from two 'last-minute discoveries'. These were the Mendrisio file (see the Appendix) and further important fragments of Gross's 1907/08 letter to Else Jaffé, bringing it to twice the length known previously (see Chapters 2, 3 and 6). Both came as complete surprises, and after I had given up all hope of ever receiving them. Thus, at the very end of the over 40-year odyssey of my relationship with Gross and research into his life and work, crucially important pieces of the puzzle came together and fell into place. This is reminiscent of Freud's dictum 'Everything essential has been preserved; even things that seem completely forgotten are present' (1937a: 260; t.m.) – although, as mentioned, there is a lot still waiting to be discovered.

How are we to understand the timing of these seemingly accidental last-minute discoveries, particularly taking into account the profound weight of the messages conveyed in them? Is a synchronistic aspect to be considered here? The dimension of 'an acausal connecting principle' (Jung, 1952a) in these last-minute finds, from a trans-historical point of view, suggest the possibility of Gross, too, having played a role in invoking, if not co-creating these timely gifts. They might almost be understood as 'famous last words', with Gross reaching out to me from beyond time, both a summing-up and an insistence to be heard correctly, so that history might be rewritten and healed.

Seen in conjunction with the fragments that have come to light at the last minute, Gross's 1907/08 letter can almost be taken as his creed, a personal as well as professional and theoretical confession of faith. The letter introduces a substantial contribution to Gross's conceptualization of what, in Jung's terms, would later become the Self and individuation (see Chapter 3). This emphasizes the extent of Gross's influence on Jung, as well as revealing a striking difference which renders Gross's formulations much more attuned to contemporary relational concerns.

In this letter to his lover, Else Jaffe, about to give birth to their son, Gross writes from a profoundly intimate place where the personal and professional overlap. The emerging final fragments show Gross introducing an innovative concept of relating as agent of healing which deepens our understanding of his emphasis on relating. Here Gross argues a profound focus on never losing sight of the timeless and unchanging self-identity of the other, as it unfolds in the relational dialectics, particularly when things become difficult. Such relating on what might be called a soul-to-soul level always keeps in mind the essential specific uniqueness of the other, whatever the current dynamics might be, and emphasizes the capacity to experience timeless beauty and the sacred in the other. Although Gross writes in terms closely linked to those Jung would use later, his is an embodied self in the process of individuation which is directly experienced in intimate relating. His, then, is a practical and experiential point of view. Conversely, Jung's subsequent approach would be much more abstract, interior and impersonal. From a trans-historical perspective, it is as if, at the point of completion of the present study, Gross offers a final elaboration of conflict resolution and healing which might be employed both interpersonally and politically.

The Mendrisio file of Gross's 1911 treatment not only gives us a much wider insight into the extent of Hans Gross's efforts to get his son under his control, and the degree to which C.G. Jung was his willing accomplice in this, but also throws new light on the latter's misdiagnosis of Gross. Concluding with a diagnosis that differs from *Dementia praecox*/schizophrenia, the documents help with a more appropriate assessment of Gross's sufferings. Although chronologically not the final diagnosis, considering again the moment in time the Mendrisio file came into my hands, I understand this as emphasizing the misdiagnosis by Jung. In addition, as Jung, albeit continuing to be enraged, does *not* repeat his damning diagnosis in his final known statement concerning Gross (Jung, 1936), it is an important step towards healing on Jung's part.

Let us recall here Werfel remarking that to Gross '"Relationship" was the central focus of his teachings for *renewing the world*' (1990: 347; emph. G.H.). In his 1907/08 letter, Gross actually refers to relating as an agent of change – that is, healing. The trans-historical meaning of my relationships with both Gross and Jung then points towards Gross's release from the *damnatio memoriae* as contributing to the healing of wounded history. This redemption profoundly extends not just to the three of us, but collectively also to all the other players on the stage of psychoanalytic historicity whose significance this study has traced, as well as everyone currently engaged in healing change. Trans-historically and synchronistically, in

disregard of the conventional understanding of space and time, this perspective of relational healing chimes with the 'relational turn' of our present time. In its spiritual dimension – always present for Gross – it fulfils the Talmud's 'Whoever saves a life, it is considered as if he saved an entire world' (Sanhedrin 4:1; 22a/37a). In turn, this trajectory leads to the writer A.S. Byatt's comment on Gross's encounter with Jung, 'They were angels wrestling, you must understand' (2009: 505). This gentle and forgiving perspective for me links with the spirit of Gross's 'Make love, not war' – as we might express it today – and also with Freud, stating in 1906, 'Essentially, one might say, the cure is effected by love' (Freud and Jung 1974: 12–13). Might it be most healing for everyone involved in this drama – Gross and his father, Freud, Jung, and all others mentioned, *including you, the reader, and me* – if we were to consider a similar perspective in the final analysis?

* * *

> Behold, I shew you a mystery;
> We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed.
> In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump:
> for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible,
> and we shall be changed [. . .].
> Death is swallowed up in victory.
>
> *1 Cor. 15:51–2, 54.*

APPENDIX

Mendrisio, Spring 1911

> [Otto Gross], this valuable human being, is being treated like the escaped tiger in a cinematography-chase. [. . .] And You still feel safe?
>
> *Ludwig Rubiner, 1913: 1179*

As mentioned in Chapter 6, following Sophie Benz's suicide in the spring of 1911, Gross spent three weeks in the *Manicomio* – literally 'madhouse' – of Mendrisio, in southern Switzerland. The only recently released file of his treatment there, never fully evaluated before, allows new and deeper insight into the extent of the efforts of Gross's parents, assisted by the forces of law and order, in what the writer Rubiner (quoted above) called a 'chase': attempts to contain their son's wild side – anti-authoritarian, uncompromisingly rebellious – and the 'disagreeable' aspects of his life and work, by way of pathologization and criminalization. Unless stated otherwise, all following quotations are from documents in the Mendrisio file.

The *Paradigmatic Generational Conflict* (Dienes et al., eds, 2005) had grown into a clash of extreme opposites: whereas Hans Gross had argued for the deportation of 'incorrigibles' (1896), the 'Death penalty for anarchists' (1901) and castration and sterilization for 'the taming' of society's dangerous elements (1913), his son had proclaimed 'The degenerates are the salt of the earth' (1909: 254). In his work on this father/son conflict, law historian Götz von Olenhusen has introduced the concept of 'fields and networks' to present the groups they respectively mobilized for their support (2005: 116–19; 2015): quantitative-numerically, the son's side appears stronger. This impression, however, conceals the actual power difference: in spite of Otto Gross's pivotal role culturally, it was his father who wielded the establishment's legal and political power.

The Mendrisio file contains substantial correspondence between Gross's parents and the psychiatric and legal authorities, allowing for an important adjustment of

perspective: I had assumed that Gross's treatment, begun merely a week after the suicide of his lover in Ascona, had been solely on his own initiative, in reaction to this traumatic event. However, it now emerges that his treatment was an integral part of the parents' long-term efforts to control their wayward son, a context in which Benz's suicide appears almost accidental.

Additional documents from the archives of the cantonal capital Bellinzona, as well as from Bern, Zurich and Graz, reveal that, after Lotte Hattemer's suicide in 1906 (see Chapter 4), also in Ascona, Gross was wanted for questioning by the police and not only under their surveillance: as an internationally famous lawyer and *the* authority of forensics, Hans Gross (Figure 26) used his position with the police, psychiatrists and lawyers, as well as private individuals, to stay informed of his son's activities – and to keep him out of prison. Following Wertheimer's 1909 Munich accusation of Gross for quackery, his father requested from the Burghölzli that, in case the Munich police requested information, their response should be formulated in such a way 'that my son can *not* be punished' (in Hurwitz, 1979: 216). In his 1912 testament, Hans Gross revealed that he had been able to

FIGURE 26 Hans Gross. © *Hans Gross Kriminalmuseum, Universitätsmuseen der Karl-Franzens-Universität*, Christian Bachhiesl, Graz, Austria.

> succeed only with the help of benign friends, namely higher-positioned officers of justice and the police in Italy, Switzerland, and Germany (in the respective places of his residence), to achieve a sort of surveillance of my son, so that he could thus be left in a kind of freedom. But if I am not alive, all that is no longer possible, my son would be exposed to the exploitation and dubious misleading by his 'friends' (people of the most evil Bohème and anarchists), and therefore I instruct – only in the interest of my poor son: Immediately after my death, my son, Dr Otto Gross, is to be put under guardianship and placed in an institution. (Ibid.: 219)

A year earlier, in January 1911, Hans Gross had complained to the Mendrisio clinic:

> My only son, Dr Otto Gross, is or was a psychiatrist; I may say he is highly gifted, he has published 14 scientific texts [actually 16; G.H.]. But he is not normal – and morphinist [. . .]. Our poor son is actually without any supervision: he doesn't tolerate any, but does not write to us neither, since he suffers from a kind of graphophobia.

Hans Gross continued by asking for 'a completely trustworthy doctor' in Ascona who might 'every now and then inconspicuously observe my son or gather information about him which he might pass on'.

Two months later, on 4 March, the local paper, under the heading 'Mysterious Suicide', reported the death of 'a German lady' who had been in the company of a 'mysterious Dr Gross' (Anon., 1911). In a letter mis-dated 3 February, instead of March, Asconan notary Enrico Poncini appealed to the director of the Mendrisio clinic, 'knowing that you are in good relation to Prof. Hans Gross', that during the previous two months Dr Otto Gross and *Signorina* Sophie Benz had intermittently lived with him and relatives of his nearby. A week earlier, 'in the night from Thursday to Friday [26/7 Feb.], this young lady had poisoned herself. [. . .] Despite the most diligent treatment given by us, *Signorina* Benz died at the hospital in Locarno.' Implying a risk of suicide, Poncini asked whether Gross might receive treatment at the clinic.

Hans Gross was contacted, and informed the clinic-director that he had received a telegram from his son that 'his "girlfriend" who had been with him for a long time, had died and that he was going to Mendrisio.' A week later, he agreed that 'my son [. . .] is placed in the *asilo sanitario* for his cure and is kept there until his recovery, if need be against his will.'

There seems to have been a language problem: although Gross mentioned in 1916 that 'I have command of Italian' (in Götz von Olenhusen, 2015: 89), at the end of March 1911 his mother deplored that 'Otto certainly suffers strongly from the impossibility of expressing himself in a foreign language.' The anamnesis of the *Manicomio*, dated 6 March, consists of hardly more than a summary of the relevant facts from Jung's 1908 case history, which had been requested and received from Bleuler – except for one crucial difference, as I shall show.

The treatment-notes of the day of admission observe:

> Talking of the accident in Locarno, [Gross] becomes upset because he lost his best friend for whom he would have done anything. Expresses the idea that, when his girlfriend was taken to the hospital, he wanted to give a transfusion of his own blood, which was saturated with cocaine for insomnia, to mix his blood with hers to immunize the blood of his girlfriend.

Rather movingly, this indicates Gross's utter despair: rationally he would have known, having written his doctoral thesis on the effects of drugs, that an overdose of cocaine or morphine affects the heart-muscle or the respiratory centre of the brain in such a way that a blood-transfusion cannot possibly be of any help to the victim: '7 March: Talking about his friend, he is moved and cries.'

Dated 10 March, partly with genuine care, Hans Gross sent a further letter:

> Concerning the accommodation of my son, I ask you to note that, although he is neither used to luxury nor demands it, I am asking you to offer him all the conveniences and alleviations your clinic is able to offer. I also permit myself to point out that from earliest youth he is an absolute vegetarian and does not tolerate any meat dishes (e.g. not even a meat-broth). [. . .] Secondly, I permit myself to mention that he has tried twice to be weaned from drugs. The first time he could not stand it any longer, and had to be collected. The second time he fled in spite of the strictest surveillance. Utter caution is necessary.

Hans Gross added that, in the autumn of 1910, Dr Berze, *primarius* of Steinhof, Vienna's 'lunatic asylum', had had an opportunity to intervene, and hence 'knows my son and his circumstances'. Nothing else is known to date of this 'intervention'. Significant, however, is that Hans Gross was apparently already then in contact with Josef Berze (1866–1957), co-author of the devastating 1913 diagnosis of Otto Gross. Assumedly, this contact originated with Berze publishing in Hans Gross's criminalistic journal. Berze contributed to the inaugural issue (1898), as well as several others later.

On 13 March, in his letter to the Mendrisio clinic, Berze emphasized that, as far as 'Dr Otto Gross was concerned, it was not just a case of morphinism, but hebephrenia with secondary morphinism', and that 'the patient tends to conceal his paranoid symptoms, which he usually succeeds with rather well.' Berze remarked that Gross had previously been treated at the Burghölzli, where the doctors had already given the same 'correct diagnosis'. He stressed the severity of Gross's mental illness, listing – *contrary* to the final Burghölzli diagnosis – the pathology first, the drug-addiction second. Assumedly, as this supported Hans Gross's aims, Berze was acting in agreement with the latter, as he did with his own extended diagnosis two years later, arrived at in co-operation with a like-minded forensic psychiatrist (Berze and Stelzer, 1913).

According to the treatment-notes, on 13 March, Otto Gross expresses 'hope for the future', and 'asks for psychiatry books (psychoanalysis)' two days later: 'He is a keen follower of the Freudian theory. He is very authoritarian about his judgements and does not tolerate opposition.' On 16 March, he 'complains about the doctors. During discussions, he is very absolutist and does not accept the opinions of others. When reminded of his condition, he threatens and tries to assault.'

Dated 19 March, the first of Adele Gross's letters is written in French, and signed by her husband – thus presumably dictated by him. Did they assume or receive information that the clinic director spoke French?

> Maybe I am reading too much between your lines, but I have the impression that you find Otto more ill than we have assumed until now. And our hope had already been so faint! Otto has fooled us several times in assuring us that he would become abstinent. [. . .] For months he has only sent us a few [post]cards, asking for money. [. . .] The latest events make us believe that he just wants to dissipate our suspicions, and that he just wants money, after having received several sums in short intervals. [. . .] He will not listen to our entreaty [literally: prayer] that, if he does not find the strength to abstain, he will have to retire to a sanatorium. [. . .] I fear that even a letter might irritate him, because he does not want to be reminded by seeing our handwriting, which is a complex he is very preoccupied with since his childhood. He knows how much we love him [. . .]. I am awaiting your suggestions.

The treatment-notes on 22 March mention that Gross 'is in a better mood, is happy to talk, apologizes for the fits of anger he has had.' On the following day, he 'is brought to visit the different pavilions, seems not to be much interested in the technical aspects. Bows conspicuously before the patients, particularly those afflicted by dementia praecox. He sees the possibility of finding the complex.'

Gross was discharged on 27 March: 'improved', and with a diagnosis of '*Opiofagia e cocainismo in psicopatia*', adopted from Jung's Burghölzli notes together with the anamnesis. Highly important, however, is the fact that nowhere in the Mendrisio file is there any mention of Gross suffering from *Dementia praecox*/schizophrenia. Although aware of Jung's diagnosis, and although the parents had implicitly asked for its confirmation, presumably 'only in the interest' of the almost formulaic use of 'our poor son', the Mendrisio psychiatrists did not corroborate it. This is particularly poignant as the Burghölzli was 'the top institution' at the time, not just nationally, whereas the Mendrisio *Manicomio* is a comparatively small provincial clinic.

In a further letter in French, dated 28 March, written and signed by herself, Adele Gross continued with the previous complaints:

> He cannot stand the withdrawal pains and will not tolerate any constraint. We are afraid that he will take flight, that he does not even have any intention to go to Vienna [that is, Steinhof]. I fear that the rage of our poor son

> is going to be provoked by us when he realizes that he cannot leave at his free will. Please be so kind as to give us any news – you will understand that we suffer.

A final letter written by Adele Gross in French on 1 April, again signed by her husband, is to thank for what has been done to 'our poor son' at the clinic, saying how much he has improved, but that a lasting cure might only be achieved by him 'staying long-term in a sanatorium. But we fear that he won't even stay in Vienna. He does not suffer the smallest violence, has to be completely free to come and go as he pleases.'

The parental despair is palpable and, of course, understandable: they do seem to feel genuinely concerned. However, conspicuous by its absence from these letters is any indication of an attempt or effort to understand their 'poor son' – that is left to the psychiatrists.

After his stay at the Mendrisio Clinic, Otto Gross was treated until June 1911 in the Steinhof *Madhouse* near Vienna. None of their records have survived. In August, a 'Wanted' circular was published by the Central Swiss Police Office, concluding with 'In case of arrest, care is required, but also utter caution' (Anon., 1911a). In February 1913, in a letter to his cousin Alfred Anthony von Siegenfeld, Hans Gross speaks of his strategy to get his son under his control. Just as in Ascona earlier, he seems to be able to only consider the use of force – power-based police-methods of surveillance and arrest – rather than relating in the form of communication and understanding:

> I have yet again to turn to you for help. Otto is in Berlin, and the situation is horrifying; he needs huge amounts of money, since a riffraff of 'friends' robs him of everything, he starts writing bank drafts, etc.
>
> I have many friends in Berlin: court-officials, policemen, psychiatrists, etc. They all write me the friendliest letters, but they don't do anything. Apparently they don't dare because he's a foreigner.
>
> I'd like to ask you to give me the name of someone at the consulate (or maybe the embassy?) I might turn to if the police etc. remain passive.
>
> My request to that person would probably go in the direction of asking the consulate etc. if they would keep Otto under surveillance (or summon him under some pretext) to then bring a charge against him at the Regional Court here [Graz]:
>
> 'Take notice: an Austrian citizen is walking about here, who obviously ought to be under guardianship.'
>
> For obvious reasons, I cannot make that charge myself. I implore you urgently, please help!
>
> Your faithful and poor
>
> H. (H. Gross, 2015: 327)

In November 1913, after he had succeeded in having Otto Gross arrested in Berlin, Hans Gross turned again to the Mendrisio clinic, whilst his son was held at the asylum of Tulln, Austria. He worried that

> the district physician and the town physician of the small town of Tulln, of course no psychiatrists, had already privately explained that they would hardly confirm that my son is 'crazy or idiotic', as our old law expresses it. I therefore implore you to provide me as a basis for the certificate of the physicians in Tulln, to either with a case-history or a medical report that in Mendrisio my son has shown himself to be mentally ill and in need of protection.

He also reported that his son

> on average took daily dosages of at least 5 gr. cocaine, 5 gr. anaestheticum, 10 gr. opium. If he does not remain in the institution, it is urgently necessary to have him put under guardianship for his own protection and to legally incapacitate him, as otherwise he gets totally exploited [. . .] by his 'friends'.

To recapitulate: in 1908, Jung complied with Hans Gross's request to declare his son incurably mentally ill. In 1910, 1911 and 1913, Berze, on the father's side, confirmed the damning diagnosis, as did his colleagues he quoted in 1913, in Vienna, Tulln and Troppau. By contrast, in 1908, Freud doubted Jung's diagnosis, the psychiatrists of the Mendrisio clinic did not endorse it in 1911, and, in 1914, having analysed Otto Gross, Stekel explicitly thought Jung's diagnosis to be 'incorrect' (1920a: 44). As mentioned in Chapter 3, Gross's symptoms are compatible with what only today is increasingly being understood as the long-term effects of early relational trauma. A hundred years ago, detailed knowledge of this did not exist. However, Otto Gross was able to conceptualize links between early emotional deprivation and how this created later relational symptomatology in the conflation of sexuality and power (see B. Heuer, 2015).

Returning to the extreme differences between Hans and Otto Gross's approaches, the continuing efforts to have his son committed contradict what the father had empathically suggested earlier:

> T h e o r e t i c a l l y anyone can be improved, but practically that is not feasible. It would be consistent to execute every incorrigible one: that is not allowed. To imprison him for life would be decidedly more cruel, irrespective whether we put him into a penitentiary, workhouse or correction-facility, [. . .] or whether we imprison him as mentally deranged in a madhouse. (H. Gross, 1896: 241)

In the mid-1890s, Hans Gross had regarded deportation as the solution of the problem. He was arguing for the use of power in its various forms – labelling, isolating, imprisoning, even execution, if necessary – to neutralize anybody who threatened the status quo, in order to cleanse society of such undesirable elements. As mentioned, this is the same basic attitude we find in those aspects of Freud's and Jung's psychologies where they describe the unconscious as an aspect of the psyche that needs to be conquered and controlled – an attitude which lives on in the power-informed paradigm underlying analytic theory and clinical practice and expressed in the language used (see B. Heuer, 2015). With the benefit of hindsight, considering, among others, the work of Michel Foucault on 'bio-politics' and Giorgio Agamben's theorizations of the concentration camp in western modernity, it is possible to see an ideological link between Hans Gross's 'solution' and the 'Final' one the Nazis instituted some forty years later.

In spite of the imbalance of power with regard to the 'networks', respectively employed by father and son, Otto Gross's most fruitful years with his most important publications still lay ahead of him. In spite of the continuing efforts of various forms of patriarchal power – within his own family, his professional psychoanalytic community, and society in general – to silence him, he was able to point in the direction of a genuine solution to the very problem of power itself in its different manifestations by arguing for its replacement by relating, the loving understanding all the authorities confronting him lacked, which he understood as feminine. He showed *we can choose differently*.

Less than fifty years after Gross's death, Martin Luther King, Jr. (1929–68) confirmed:

> Far from being the injunction of a Utopian dreamer, the command to love one's enemy is an absolute necessity for our survival. [It] [. . .] is the key to the solution of the problems of our world. Jesus is not an impractical idealist; he is a practical realist. (1969: 47f.)

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> Any kind of order particularly in these areas is nothing more than a balancing act over an abyss. 'The only true knowledge there is', Anatole France has said, 'is the knowledge concerning the date of publication and the format of books.'
>
> *Walter Benjamin, 1931: 388–9*

Abbreviations

AAK – *Archiv für Kriminalanthropologie und Kriminalistik.*
CW – Jung, C.G. (1969). *Collected Works.* London: Routledge.
GS – Benjamin, W. (1991). *Gesammelte Schriften.* Frankfurt: Suhrkamp.
Int. J. Psa. – *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis.*
JAP – *The Journal of Analytical Psychology.*
NK – Gross, O. (2000). *Von geschlechtlicher Not zur sozialen Katastrophe.* Hamburg: Nautilus.
SE – Freud, S. (1953). *Standard Edition.* London: Hogarth.
SW – Gross, O. (2012). *Selected Works. 1901–1920.* New York: Mindpiece.
W – Gross, O. (2009). *Werke 1901–20.* New York: Mindpiece.

Letters by Frieda Gross and Else Jaffé: unless otherwise stated, all quotations are from Else von Richthofen Papers, Letters and Correspondence 1898–1943, Digital Collections and Archives, Tufts University, Medford, MA: http://dl.tufts.edu/catalog/ead/tufts:UA069.001.DO.MS008.

Unreferenced letters and other documents from the Archives of the Kriegsministerium, Vienna; the Steiermärkisches Landesarchiv, Graz; Landesarchiv, Graz; the Library of Congress, Washington, DC; Staatsarchiv, Bern, and others, as well as unpublished manuscripts, are kept in photocopied form in the Otto Gross Archive/Gottfried M. Heuer, London.

There is, as yet, no edition of the complete works of Otto Gross in any language. Some texts have not been re-published since they were first published in the early 1900s. In this bibliography, I am, in each instance, referring to the latest available edition in print – hence the various collections, listed above. Only if no English translation exists, do I refer to the most recent German edition. None of the later re-publications have respected Gross's idiosyncratic usage of emphasis. In each quote from any of his texts, I have followed the emphases of the respective first publication, which therefore may well differ from later ones.

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[1]The text is unsigned, but it is clear from the content that the authors are Feigenbaum's two co-editors.

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